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NYAKYUSA CONVENTIONS OF BURIAL

By GODFREY WILSON

INTRODUCTION

In this paper¹ a particular ceremonial occasion of a particular Bantu people is described and analysed, burial among the Nyakyusa. Lest any reader feel the subject too mournful for his taste let me hasten to assure him that burial among the Nyakyusa is a most lively social event. And, indeed, it is this somewhat surprising fact which provides us here with our main theme.

The emotional aspect of life is not always treated, in monographs of social anthropology, with the same thoroughness and system as are its practical and intellectual aspects; and yet symbols, overt expressions of feeling, are no less essential ingredients of human relationship than actions and concepts. They are no less material and objective. They set the sociologist no less significant problems.

Why is it, we ask in the first place, that the normal emotional response to specific situations differs from one cultural group to the next? Why is it, for example, that among the English it is most unusual at a burial for a man to turn from greeting the mourners to dancing and flirting with the bystanders, and yet among the Nyakyusa it is perfectly normal to do so? And why is it, we ask in the second place, that the normal emotional response, whatever it may be, is never a purely statistical average but is always obligatory, conventional? Even at a Nyakyusa burial there are many things which must not be done. And how, we ask lastly, is this obligation maintained, how are the conventions preserved? These are the problems here discussed.

By the term "symbol" is meant any overt expression of feeling, whether in speech or gesture, whether the human body alone or other objects as well are expressively employed. By "convention" is meant any socially determined limitation of emotional expression. A "ceremony" is a complex of symbols conventionally limited in use.

¹ The first draft of this paper was read to Professor Malinowski's seminar at the London School of Economics. It has since been rewritten and fresh material added to it. I am particularly indebted to Professor Malinowski himself and to Dr. Franz Borkenau for their criticisms of the first draft.

THE SOCIAL BACKGROUND²

A rapid survey of the structure of Nyakyusa society is necessary before we can understand the burials of its members. The relationships of a Nyakyusa with his fellows are mainly determined by his membership of three groups—of a family, of an age-village and of a small and traditionally independent chiefdom.

Nyakyusa households are often polygynous, and kinship is recognized beyond them on both sides, but more widely on that of the father. Descent and inheritance are both normally patrilineal, but there are no clans. The sons of a group of effective patrilineal kinsmen are not all effective kinsmen themselves, while among the grandsons many of the old kinship bonds will have entirely lapsed, even from speech and memory.

In all the most important relationships, both of kinship and affinity, an actual or potential transfer of cattle is one of the constituent factors. Without a transfer of cattle no legal marriage can take place, and anything from four to thirty head of cattle are handed over by the groom to the bride's father. The cattle, however, are not all kept by him; he keeps some, but the bulk of them he distributes among his sons, his full-brothers and his half-brothers, receiving cows from them in return when their own daughters marry. Marriage-cattle are seldom handed over all together but during a number of years, and their subsequent distribution is equally protracted. Half-brothers do not always exchange cattle, but unless they do so there is no strong bond of kinship between them. And an exchange of cattle once begun between half-brothers is continued by their sons.

The laws of inheritance make full-brothers the first heirs of a dead man, then his sons, or, failing male issue, his half-brothers. If he has no full-brothers living and no sons (or only sons too young to inherit) then the half-brothers with whom he exchanged cattle have a better claim to the inheritance than those with whom he did not. If there are several surviving brothers or sons, it is the senior one who inherits. The wives of a dead man pass to his heir, who is under strict obligation to look after them and their children. If a full-brother or a half-brother inherits and then dies himself the wives and property which he inherited pass back to the senior son of their original husband and owner. The heir is head of the family in which the dead man was a father; and a group of full and half-siblings, all grown up and with families of their own, is yet still

² For further information the reader is referred to "An Introduction to Nyakyusa Society." Bantu Studies. Sept. 1936.

united for some purposes as a single family under the leadership of the brother or the senior son of their dead father. Every married man has his own huts and land, while his brothers often, and his sons always live in other villages.

Though cattle are the most valued form of wealth, agriculture is the basis of economic life. Bananas, beans, peas, lentils, sweet-potatoes, pumpkins, ground-nuts, yams, maize and rice are grown and used for food, millet is used both for eating and for making beer. Meat and milk are luxuries, for cattle are scarce and only fulfil their social functions by a fairly rapid circulation from one man to another. None the less cattle, as we shall see, are killed at funerals.

Besides the transfer and exchange of cattle another constituent factor both of kinship and affinity is attendance at the same ceremonies, and burials are the most frequent ceremonial occasions of all.

Villages are continually formed on the basis of age. Men who are roughly contemporaries live together, with their wives and children. The number of households in an age-village varies between ten and sixty, but forty is probably the average. Most of the male members of an age-village are not closely related by blood, but they often marry one another's sisters and daughters. Attendance at a neighbour's burial is obligatory for members of the same village.

The village is the smallest political unit and a chiefdom is a group of villages. Each village of married men has a leader, a great commoner (ulifumu), originally chosen by the senior great commoners of the chiefdom. Great commoners normally hold office for life; they have considerable authority and prestige in their own villages, and together they advise the hereditary chief and to some extent control his actions. The size of chiefdoms varies considerably, from 100 to 3,000 adult men. Each was traditionally independent and usually hostile to neighbouring chiefdoms; and wars and cattle-raids seem to have been very frequent. Though a European government has been established in the district for over forty years and has successfully compelled peace, yet the war dance is still danced at every burial. The chief of a country must be notified of every death, and a special part of the burial meat is given to him.

Missions have been established in the district since 1891 and have made numerous converts, while pagan life everywhere shows traces of Christian influence. European tea and coffee plantations in the district and the Lupa gold fields just outside provide a ready market for labour, and to the Lupa the Nyakyusa sell rice, beans and maize of their own

growing, through the medium of Indian traders. The Nyakyusa also grow coffee themselves which the Government Agricultural Department sells for them.

DEATH AND BURIAL (IFWA)

Whenever a death takes place, whether of man, woman or child, a series of funeral activities lasting a month or more is set in motion. The first of the series is the burial (ifwa) which, in the case of an adult, lasts three or four days; and it is with this alone that we are here concerned. The burials of very young children are not clothed with much ceremony, and will, in the following description, be ignored. For the sake of convenience the account of burial is given mainly in reference to the burials of men; those of women are very similar and occasional references are made to them; but the constant qualifications of statement that would be necessary to give a complete description of both would only be wearisome to the reader, and are, in a paper such as this, unnecessary.

As soon as death occurs the women who are present begin the ceremonial wailing and messages are sent to the chief, the local great commoner and to the dead man's relatives and affines to announce the fact and bid them to the burial. The first message is sent to the father, or to a senior brother, if one is still alive, or failing them to the heir of the dead man, and he it is who sends out the other messages. If the father or a senior brother is alive the burial often takes place at his homestead, the body being carried there at once; otherwise the dead man is buried at his own home. A woman is usually buried at her husband's home.

Messages must be sent to all the fathers-in-law and all the sons-in-law both of the dead man and of the senior kinsman who buries him, to all the dead man's full and half-brothers, to the husbands of his sisters, to any classificatory brothers with whom he exchanged cows, to his mother's father or brother, to the full and half-brothers of his father, and to his sons. If any one of these is forgotten he will be angry: "It happens sometimes that a kinsman comes in later, after the man is buried, and is very angry because no message was sent to him; he comes in a passion, and perhaps he beats his brother (the one who should have sent him a message). Then the others catch hold of him and say: 'Why do you not come soberly and greet us decently with the appropriate words? Come now, why?' And if he does not stop they beat him."

These kinsmen and affines, with their wives and children, are under obligation to come to the burial, unless they are sick. Young children under the ages of ten or eleven are not obliged to come, though they often

do, but older children must do so. One reason for the continuance of the burial ceremonies for three or four days is that this gives time for relatives from a distance to receive the messages and come. Deliberately to refuse to send a message, or, on the other side, to refuse to come to a burial for no good reason, is a symbolic breaking of the bond of relationship and no one ever does either unless there is a serious quarrel and all economic and social relations are being broken off between the two families concerned.

The village neighbours also are obliged to come to every burial in that village. They normally wish to do so, but, even if they do not, yet they still come for shame or for fear of being accused of witchcraft if they stay away. Where there is friendship the neighbours come in grief and sympathy, and quarrels are softened by the fact of death, but, if the memory of enmity still persists, then the last sanctions are shame and fear: "Some people mourn more than others" "The men who knew him say: 'Let us go and mourn him'" "Those who did not know him initimately, they mourn because each thinks: 'He has died, my neighbour, and so will it be with me one day." "If I have quarrelled with my neighbour and he dies, I go to his burial for I say to myself: 'It is true that while he lived we guarrelled, but now he is dead and we shall never meet again. I too will go to his burial and mourn him." "If a village neighbour does not come to a burial we say he is unkindly and unsociable." "And if a man does not go to his neighbour's burial then at once people say: 'It was you who bewitched him. Why else do you not come to bury him?" Several of the accusations of witchcraft of which I have heard have been occasioned by a man's absence from a village neighbour's funeral. For it is believed that witches are chary of going to the burials of their victims lest the dead should rise and denounce them.

To all burials in his own country a chief normally goes, except to those of very young children. "He goes because it is his subject who has died, he is like the senior kinsman of the whole country, he rules all." "If a chief omits to go to a burial people say nothing, they know that he is always going to burials and they think that perhaps he has some urgent business. But if he constantly misses burials then people say that he has no affection for his people, that he does not come to bury them as is fit; and if a chief hears them saying this then he is ashamed." Sometimes a chief who is busy will send a son to represent him.

Besides the chief, the villagers and the relatives, there come also personal friends of the dead man from other villages and chiefdoms.

And beyond all these there often come others, who, as we shall see later, are attracted not so much by grief and sympathy, nor even by the obligation to express these feelings, but rather by the dancing, the crowds and the possibility of getting some meat to eat. Not all those who come stay the whole three or four days, while the relatives who live at a distance often do not arrive until the second or third day.

On the first or early on the second day the actual burial takes place. The first spit of earth is always turned by the eldest son of the one who has died. At one burial I saw the young eldest son of a dead man being helped to do this. He was too small to manage a hoe by himself so he caught the handle near the blade while an elder relative held it behind to steady it for him.

The grave is dug in the swept and beaten earth that immediately surrounds the huts. The digging, after the first spit, is done by a skilled grave digger, who may be a kinsman or not, with the help of others. The grave is ten or more feet deep with a cave at the bottom to one side. Some graves are oblong, some round or oval, according to different local and family custom. In the round and oval graves the body is placed in the cave in a sitting position, in the oblong graves lying at full length on one arm; but in both cases the dead man is set to face the direction from which he and his people have traditionally come. The bulk of the Nyakyusa say that they came from the East, eight or ten generations ago, down the Livingstone Mountains into their present country; and it is to the East that they face in death. Those in the North of the district, whose local name is Kukwe, face in death towards their most recent centre of dispersion near Rungwe mountain, although they have traditions going back further to a migration from the North through the present Sango country.

Digging a grave is traditionally a dangerous activity, as we shall see, but now-a-days it is no longer so much feared as it used to be. Formerly any non-relatives who helped to dig a grave were given a whole leg of the burial meat to eat by themselves, but now they just share in the portion set aside for neighbours.

When the grave is ready three people usually get down into it to receive and bury the body. In the case of a man his chief wife, a male relative and a village neighbour normally bury him. A knotched bamboo serves as a ladder for getting in and out of the grave. These three people line the cave with mats and cloths which are passed down to them; then the body, previously washed and shaved and now wrapped in cloths is handed down, and they put it in position in the cave, together with a few

personal possessions such as a pipe, an eating pot, a little calabash of ointment, a looking glass and so on. "He goes with them to the place of the spirits." More cloths are then put in with the body and the cave is closed either with a stiff mat or with the door of the dead man's house, in accordance with local custom. They then get out of the grave, the chief mourners each push a few handfuls of earth into the grave, and finally the grave digger and his friends fill in the rest of the earth. Sometimes the body is carried in a wailing procession round the homestead once or twice before burial. "We do this to honour the dead man."

THE WAILING

From the time of the death until the end of the three or four days of the burial activities ceremonial wailing continues intermittently. weep because we grieve and tremble with fear." The old women are the most persistent, next come the young women, and last come the men and boys. "The women," one old man said to me, "weep all the time; even at night they only sleep a little, weeping and sleeping and then weeping again! But we men weep just once, when we first arrive, we do not go on and on." The chief mourners (avenemfwa, lit: "owners of the death ") among the women, that is mother, step-mothers, wives, sisters, daughters, and brothers' wives, spend most of the time inside one of the huts, which is the centre of the wailing. The rest of the women sit just outside, and the men and boys in two or more groups at a little distance. All, or most of the other women spend some time inside the hut, wailing with the chief mourners, but then they come and sit outside. This outside group of women wails intermittently at first, but later, as we shall see, their attention is diverted to watching the burial dance. The chief mourners (avenemfwa) among the men-father, brothers, sons, go into the hut at first (and as they arrive) and wail with the women, but then they come out and sit with the men. Other male relatives, neighbours and friends, as they arrive, go to the door of the hut, or just inside, and greet the women sympathetically; then they go and greet the chief mourners among the men and sit down with them. No exact line of division can be drawn between the wailing of the chief mourners and others, for some of the more distant male relatives go right inside and spend some time wailing and shedding tears. And both among the chief mourners and others the extent to which grief is thus expressed varies considerably. In the groups of men and boys there is no wailing. Although the chief mourners among the women and the old women who stay with them inside the hut wail far more than anyone else, yet even their wailing is only intermittent. Before, and for several hours just after

the burial they wail continuously, but towards the end of a day they often fall silent for hours at a time, beginning again each time new arrivals come into the hut to sympathize and again at nightfall as the crowds move off home.

Before the actual burial the body is usually kept in the hut, and the chief women mourners hold it in their arms. One man expressed to me the opinion that, if a death occured late in the evening or at night, the body should not be buried before noon the next day, so as to give people time "to weep and assuage their grief, for they always wail more before the body is buried, when they can see the dead man." Sometimes, immediately after the burial, the chief mourners, both men and women, wail outside near the newly filled grave.

Before we analyse the wailing in detail, however, we must first understand the Nyakyusa conception of death, the religious ritual and legal action which are associated with the ceremonial, and the remainder of the ceremonial.

It is necessary at this point to make clear the distinction between ceremonial and ritual. A ceremony is an elaborate conventional form for the expression of feeling; actions and concepts enter into without dominating it; its primary character is manifestly symbolic. Nor is it in any way confined to religious occasions; any emotional situation, whether religious or secular, may be clothed in ceremony. But ritual is religious action. Symbols and concepts, though always employed in ritual, are there subordinated to practical ends; and every ritual is directly occupied with the ultimate realities of religious faith.³

The social situation which obtains after a Nyakyusa's death is highly emotional and it is with the ceremonial expression of this emotion that we are here concerned; but it includes, at the same time, various institutional actions and it also occasions thought. And a great part of the action and concept which is manifest after a death is religious in character; the action is largely ritual, the concept dogmatic.

Into the Nyakusa ritual of death, which I hope to describe in detail in another paper, symbolism enters but is not its dominant aspect. The point of the ritual lies in the fact that its correct performance is believed materially to affect the lives and fortunes of the survivors and to ensure,

³ The common use of the term "ritual" to refer to secular activities is always metaphorical and usually sarcastic as well. To speak of a dinner as a "ritual" is to mock at the diners for satisfying their appetites with such religious solemnity.

through the agency of the ancestral spirits, food and fertility, health and sanity. Here in this paper we are attending to the ceremonial, whose point lies solely in the harmonious expression of a considerable range of human feeling. But we cannot understand it without understanding also, at least in outline, the forms of action and of concept which are actually associated with it.

Death to the Nyakyusa is a fearful thing. They believe that the spirit (unsyuka) of a dead man survives underground (pasi) in the place of the spirits (ubusyuka) and that it can and does visit surviving relatives in dreams and materially affect their destinies. The spirits of the dead are one of the final causes with which their religion deals. But contact with them is usually feared and the function of the religious ritual at the funeral is "to drive the spirit away." This ritual begins during the burial (ifwa), but it consists mainly of a series of rites which take place subsequently and which last for a month, six weeks or longer. It is these later activities to which the Nyakyusa give the name of ritual (uvunyago.)4 At the burial itself people's attention is mainly concerned with the death as an emotional event, with the fact that a father, a mother, a kinsman or a neighbour has died; but into the emotional quality of death their religious beliefs enter. With the spirits they desire no close contact, for the most usual dreams of the dead are those in which they reproach a man for some sin, or foretell his death; their commonest activity is believed to be the sending of madness and misfortune upon sinful men. Nor is it desirable to join the spirits oneself. The place of the spirits is a vague and shadowy land where no certain happiness is traditionally believed to be. "No one," said an old man to me, " has ever been there and come back to tell us about it. When the dead come to us in dreams they do not show us where they live nor tell us about their life. We do not know what we shall find there. But we do not think that we shall have happiness, nor friendly intercourse."-" He has died and we shall never meet again," said another man of his dead neighbour. Some old men, however, have definite theories about the place of the spirits, and all agree that wealth is important there; but these theories have no certainty: "We are just guessing." It is certain that the spirits continue to live somehow, for they are believed to affect the lives and enter the dreams of their kinsmen; but the nature of their survival is uncertain.

A man, when he dies, is believed to join his ancestors. Until the end of the funeral rites, they say, he is on the way and if the ritual is not

They are not believed often to cause death, but if a sick man dreams of them that is a sign he will probably die.

⁴ The word *uvunyago* is used to cover all religious (including magical) ritual of any complexity.

properly performed he does not reach them and troubles the dreams and lives of the survivors until he is properly driven away. "If you do not perform the ritual for your father or mother you may go mad or else have a slow and lingering death."

Many of the younger pagans, however, are affected by Christian belief: I have been told by young men that when they died they confidently expected to go "to a fine country with dancing and feasting and a chief to rule us." But many old men scoff at such beliefs. "They have learnt them from the missionaries—how do they know, have they been there to see?" Among some of the younger men also the ritual of death is less important that it used to be. As one Christian said to me: "The pagans no longer fear to die away from home—they used to fear very much to die in a strange country (and many still do), they thought: 'If I die far from home I shall never reach my ancestors, for people will not bury me properly.'" Nor do all the young men now fear if they fail to attend a father's funeral ritual. "We no longer believe in the old rituals," said a sophisticated young pagan to me, "because we see that the Christians do not do these things and nothing happens to them."

Death then is traditionally a fearful event, fearful in prospect and in fact; and although its terrors are mitigated for many of the younger Nyakyusa by rumours of Christian belief and practice, yet the old tradition is still a living one.

An additional reason for fearing death is the Nyakyusa belief in the contagious character of many diseases. Death is thought to be caused sometimes by witchcraft, and sometimes by one of a variety of diseases. Of these diseases some are held to be hereditary and to run in families, and they are usually non-contagious, others, and they are usually contagious, are believed to be due to the sorcery of enemies. And the contagious diseases are believed to be especially dangerous at death, particularly among the relatives of the dead man. It is most important to discover the cause of death so that proper steps may be taken to safeguard the survivors.

Sometimes today a post mortem examination of the body is made by a doctor before burial, and it was always made in the old days. The function of this examination (*ukupandula*) is to decide the cause of death. The doctor cuts open the stomach and examines the intestines; if he finds red marks like wounds, then he diagnoses witchcraft; if he finds the intestines are very thin and inclined to stick together then he diagnoses *ikitasya*, one of the hereditary and non-contagious diseases; if he finds brown oily matter in the stomach he diagnoses *ulupembe*, one of the most feared types of sorcery, and so on. A few weeks later the relatives of the dead man call in a diviner to check the first diagnosis, they say: "Perhaps the doctor who examined the body made a mistake."

In 1935 a woman whom we knew died; there was no *ukupandula* but the diviner later diagnosed *ulupembe*, a disease due to the sorcery of enemies and believed to be extremely contagious for those relatives who attend the funeral. At once a doctor was summoned, and I was present when he put all the relatives through a most complicated magical ritual for protection which lasted six hours. They subsequently paid the doctor a bull for saving their lives.

The contagion is especially dangerous to relatives. Other people do not fear these diseases unless they actually hold the corpse in their arms, or dig the grave, or help to bury it, but all relatives are afraid.

Besides the contagion of specific diseases, the corpse itself is held always to have a vaguely defined but none the less fearful contagion of its own. And, because of this, all who have had any close contact with the body go to bathe immediately after the burial. Those of the chief mourners who hold the body in their arms, the grave diggers and those who get down into the grave to bury it all go to bathe. "Even when death is not due to a contagious disease it seems as if there was another disease in the corpse itself, it is a stinking mass of disease." Traditionally they use two medicinal plants to wash with, but in some chiefdoms near mission stations they now wash without them. The chief of one such country explained to me: "In the old days they feared very much to eat before bathing-but now sometimes they just wash their hands and eat. Of old they feared death, they feared lest the disease should spread. they wished to rid themselves of the contamination of the corpse. They used to wash with two plants—as medicine. Now they just bathe in the stream or sometimes just wash their hands alone." But, particularly in those chiefdoms at a distance from the centres of European influence, the fear of the contagion of death is still very strong.

Death then is, for the majority of pagan Nyakyusa, a fearful as well as a grievous event; less fearful than it used to be to their fathers, but more fearful by far to them than it is to their Christian neighbours.

Very many of the women relatives, a few of the men relatives and some of the neighbours smear their heads and faces with mud or pot-black "as a sign of grief." Such an expression of grief is by the Christians thought extravagant and they have themselves abandoned the custom. One Christian explained to me: "The pagans smear them-

selves with mud because they tremble with fear at a death—but we do not tremble—the pagans are very sorrowful because they say: 'Our friend has vanished from our eyes and we shall never meet him happily again.'"

It is also the custom for the women relatives to bind one anothers' bellies with strips of bark-cloth, and for their women friends to bind them also. These bark-cloth belts are called amakiba and symbolize the fearful grief and mutual sympathy of the mourners and the sympathy of their friends. One woman, who was taking two belts to tie up the bellies of two mourning friends whose husband had died, explained to my wife: "I give them these to tie round their bellies because they are all atremble, they are full of fear." And when she was asked why men did not thus support one another, she replied: "They are not afraid like women, they do not tremble much." But we have some evidence that, before the coming of the Europeans, men also wore amakiba. The Christian women have kept the custom, but they emphasize more the aspect of sympathy and less that of fear. "If a woman wears many belts at a burial that means she has many friends; her passionate grief is comforted by their friendship."

THE DANCING

Sometimes on the first day and often on the last two or three days of a burial there is dancing as well as wailing. Dancing usually begins late in the morning, at about 11 or 12 o'clock; gradually it attracts more and more dancers, more and more of the attention of the onlookers, until the wailing is confined to the chief women mourners inside the hut and the dance is the most conspicuous part of the ceremonial. It is led by young men dressed in a special costume of ankle-bells and cloth skirts, all holding spears and leaping wildly about. There is little common movement. each usually dances alone as if fighting a single combat. Among the men some of the women move about, singly or in twos and threes, calling the war cry and swinging their hips in a kind of rhythmical walk. The rhythm is supplied by a team of three or four drums. Under a tropical sun in a damp heat, with the thermometer often over 90 F. in the shade, they dance for hours. In the dust and noise and excitement there are no very apparent signs of grief; and yet if you ask the onlookers what it is all about they reply: "They are mourning the dead."

This burial dance is traditionally a dance of war; now, as also in former times, it provides those men who are most affected by grief and fear with a violent and passionate means of expression, in which their

feelings are assuaged by the touch of life; for the others it was, in the old days, an assertion of their own and their dead neighbour's warlike quality, and this significance is still vividly present to their minds; but, after a generation and more of peace, its content is changing and the sexual element, always present in it, is rapidly dominating the old memories.

"This war dance (ukukina)," said an old man, "is mourning, we are mourning the dead man. We dance because there is war in our hearts.—A passion of grief and fear exasperates us (ilyojo likutusila)." Since this statement is the clue both to the present and to the traditional meaning of the war dance to the chief mourners, we must examine the language carefully. Elvojo means a passion of grief, anger or fear; ukusila means to annoy or exasperate beyond endurance. In explaining ukusila one man put it like this: "If a man continually insults me then he exasperates me (ikusila) so that I want to fight him." Death is a fearful and grievous event that exasperates those men nearly concerned and makes them want to fight. The chief mourners and personal friends among the women assuage their feelings in the ceremonial wailing, among the men in the ceremonial war dance. "A kinsman when he dances he assuages his passionate grief (ilvojo); he goes into the house to weep and then he comes out and dances the war-dance; his passionate grief is made tolerable in the dance (lit: 'he is able to endure it there, in the dance '), it bound his heart and the dance assuages it."

This exasperated and fearful grief of some was linked in traditional expression with a general salute to the warlike quality of man. "Those of old said 'the dead man was a lively dancer in battle, and now he is dead we dance for him, he too was a fighting dancer!"—"He was a warrior (lit: 'a man of the spear,') we dance now, as he danced himself, the dance of war." And this salute, at the same time, gave to the dancers a heightened sense of their own warlike quality: "We used not actually to fight at burials so much as to dance and become conscious of our strength for future wars against other chiefdoms, when, on another day we would go to raid their cows!"

But although an actual fight was not a necessary part of the ceremonial it very frequently occurred; and burials are still one of the most usual occasions of spearing. "In the old days, before the country was at peace, we men often fought at burials; we ran in front spearing one another, while our wives ran behind calling the war-cry and watching the prowess of their husbands." So far from ceremonies having the sole function of promoting social integration, as some would have us believe, the burial ceremonies of the Nyakyusa were occasions on which existing

antipathies continually found overt expression in fighting and new antipathies arose.

The fights normally followed the lines of division between chiefdom and chiefdom, village and village. Kinship and affinity has always for some men extended beyond the single chiefdom; and to the burials of these people, if they are in any way eminent, the young men of other chiefdoms often come to dance. And, while today, with a well established tradition of peace, there are fewer smouldering emnities between chiefdoms, forty or fifty years ago it was scarcely possible for the young men of two chiefs to meet peaceably; cattle raids, abductions of women, defeats and victories in battle were too hot in the memory. Sometimes an accidental josting, sometimes a deliberate insult, they tell me, was the occasion for a running fight. "At burials there was often war. If the men of two chiefdoms were there together at a burial they would quarrel and fight. Sometimes the fight began when one hurled his spear into the ground and then pulled it up so as to pitch earth on to another man. Perhaps there would be only a few men dancing at first and many sitting down; but when a neighbouring chief was heard coming with his men, and the sound of the trumpet and flute⁶ came to us, then we said ' If we sit still they will say there were no men but only women at that burial, let us dance too!' So we would get up and dance, and then if the others did anything there would be war." And fights sometimes occurred between two villages of the same chief.

The dance was thus, traditionally, a common form for the expression by the dancers of a considerable range of emotions, varying from an intolerable burden of grief and fear to a recognition of and salute to the warlike quality of the dead man and a vivid consciousness of their own. And this last feeling passed easily into actual fighting.

Today it is not so much into the excitements of warfare that the feelings turn but rather into those of love. Burial dances are the occasions of much sexual display, of the beginning of some love affairs and of the consummation of others.

Dances of sexual display, on occasions other than burial, are traditional among the Nyakyusa; but all our informants are unanimous in declaring that both these other dances and the dances of burial are far more frequently followed by lovers' meetings than they used to be. For the enforcement of peace among the Nyakyusa has been accompanied by

⁶ The trumpet of horn and the bamboo flute which used to accompany the war dance. They are now seldom heard, drums have superseded them.

a prohibition of all violence of any kind; and this has freed sexual passion from its rigid traditional bonds. Girls are married young and engaged younger; and, while formerly any man who seduced or even flirted with another man's betrothed or wife was speared or tortured by the husband and his friends, such punishments are now illegal, and the present fine of cattle is a far less effective deterrent. "In the old days love-making only went on in secret; if a man stood and talked to a woman he expected to be speared. But now the Europeans have introduced the custom of making love openly!" (i.e. by forbidding the previous penalties).

For all the younger men and women, save the chief mourners and close friends, the quality of the burial dance is now predominantly and openly sexual. But the older people are, on the one hand, more conscious of its warlike associations and, on the other hand, they are inclined to regard the whole occasion more soberly than their juniors. "There are two reasons for coming to a burial: the old men come to mourn their friend, they say 'let us go and mourn him'; but the young men say 'let us follow the tradition of the leaping dance and show ourselves to the girls! (laughter). And so it is with the women, some of the young women do not come to mourn but to call the war-cry to the boys! Those who come to mourn go into the hut and weep and weep." "The young men say that they dance by reason of the women. The old men say that in the past it was different, it was war; the women ran behind the fighters watching the battle and calling the war-cry. And we all say that the present custom of dancing is the softer custom of a peaceful land."

As the old significance of the dance to the majority of the participants was a lively salute to the dead man's fighting quality and a heightened sense of their own, so now it is his sexual quality which they honour and their own which they enjoy. "Why," I asked a young man, "do you dance nowadays at burials, there is little or no warfare and the dead man was never a fighter?" His answer came almost in the traditional form of words: "We think that he too danced before the women, he was a brave dancer (mogi), and so we too dance (ukukina) at his death."

"He too was a brave dancer (mogi)"—The word "mogi" is from the verb "ukumoga" which refers to the ordinary dances of sexual display in contrast to the war-dance (ukukina). It is the war-dance which is still normally danced at death. Not only, however, is its significance being assimilated to that of the ordinary dances of recreation, as this quotation clearly shows, but these other dances are now often performed at burials. Near Rungwe Mission the pagans dance the war-dance on the first day of a burial and sometimes on the second day as well, but always on the third

day the dance is changed. The men abandon cloth skirts, spears and ankle-bells and put on their best clothes, an ample white toga being particularly fashionable; the women adorn themselves with great care and some put roses in their hair. The dance is no longer a wild melée, but is slow and graceful; and its sexual significance is now apparent, not only in the faces of the dancers and the comments of the bystanders, but also in the forms of movement.

This custom is new. None of the chief mourners at all take part in the dance, though they watch it. In the war dance, however, the chief mourners among the men are expected to participate, and some of them always do so. "The (men) relatives dance if they have strength, they weep first and then dance. For if they all sit still and no one of them dances we others say that they have not mourned him properly." But they do not all dance. One old man whose brother had just been buried said to me "those who are really sad sit quite still and silent." But he was an old man with little strength for dancing; on the first day of his brother's burial he sat still, but on the second day he danced a little.

As for the women who participate in the war-dance, running about among the men and calling the war-cry, their behaviour is clearly distinguished in accordance with their relationship to the dead man. "The distant (women) relatives dance in their dirt, they cannot adorn themselves much, but non-relatives adorn themselves. The wives and sisters of a dead man and the nearer women relatives are the chief mourners (avenemfimba—" owners of the corpse") and they cannot dance at the burial. "They, the chief mourners, are truly grieved. If a wife danced we'd say she did not love her husband-well perhaps she might wander round distraught to the sound of the drums (and I have myself often observed this), but with grief on her face and without looking at the young men! If she looked at the young men we'd say she did not love her husband. If a brother's wife danced we should laugh at her and say she was no kinswoman of the dead man! But for a man it is different, he dances with his grief to enable his heart to bear it." "In the old days, if there was a fight, the chief women mourners did not follow and call the war-cry, but the others; all the men went to fight but not all the women to watch."

Our observation shows that there is just as much dancing at the burials of women as at those of men. Here too the dance, as now performed, combines the two functions of assuaging the fearful grief of some people and that of a sexual display in honour of the dead: "we dance at her burial, for she too was a brave dancer (mogi)." But in the

Rungwe Mission is 5,000 ft. above sea-level and roses grow there.

old days also there was dancing at women's burials: "For a woman," one old man explained to me, "she bears us men, so that she too is a warrior!" "In the past," said another old man, "we did dance at women's burials, only a little not so much as at men's; we said that she was only a woman, but that none the less she also was concerned in war."

The change in the quality of the burial dance is one of emphasis only; in the past also the sexual element was present: "We danced so that the women should see our strength," but it was not dominant. And the warlike quality which was then dominant has by no means disappeared; I have heard of many spear fights at burial dances. And of one of them I have a detailed account, though I was not there at the time. The chief, in order to prevent its continuance, made the dancers abandon the war dance and finish the ceremony with the ordinary dances of sexual display.

During the course of the war-dance the young men cut down some of the bananas which surround the huts and the open place in front of them. "The owner has died, it is a sign to men that some one has died there." "We do it so that it should not seem as if he was still alive; if the bananas were not cut but all stood they would cause us to remember that he was recently alive." "We wish the dead man to take them with him to the place of spirits." And for exactly the same reasons some of the calabashes and pots of a dead woman are broken at her burial."

I have often seen older men get up and check the dancers from destroying too many bananas. And they tell me that: "In the old days we used to cut down all the bananas of a dead man and any crops that were growing near the house also; but now we think that if we destroy all the food his children will die of hunger! So we just cut down a few bananas." This destruction of food is connected, as I hope to show in a later paper, with the belief that a man, when he dies, takes the fertility of his land with him and that this loss of fertility can only be avoided by a religious ritual directed to him. The present moderation of the ritual destruction of food is, I believe, an index of the decline of the power of this old belief; for the fear of future hunger, which now restrains them, used to encourage them to a greater sacrifice.

This destruction of bananas, then, has both a ceremonial and a ritual significance. It is a symbol that expresses and conveys to other people the grief that is roused by a death; it is, at the same time, a religious action, a sacrifice to the spirit of the dead.

And so too the killing of cattle at a burial has both a ceremonial and a ritual significance; but, in the case of the cattle, there is present yet another aspect—that of legal action.

THE KILLING OF CATTLE

At all except the very poorest burials one or more head of cattle is killed. Cows are provided whenever possible, but, if no cows are available, bulls may be used instead. If the man who has died has left cattle of his own one at least of his own herd is killed; if he has left none his family make every effort to buy or borrow one, or else they provide one themselves from their own herds. If the dead man was rich several of his cows will be killed.

Not only the immediate family of a dead man but also the fathers (or brothers) of his wives and the husbands of his full-sisters and daughters are expected to provide cows for killing at his burial. And if he is buried at his "father's" (ugwise)⁸ place then his "father's" affinal relatives are also expected to bring cows. The affinal relationship is largely constituted by the transfer of marriage-cattle; a young man gives cows for his wives, whose fathers (or brothers) are expected to return one at his death; while if one of these men dies he himself must bring yet another cow to the burial.

When a woman dies her husband and her own "father" are expected each to provide a cow or a bull. Occasionally other affines of her husband also bring cows, but less usually. More cows are killed for men than for women.9

The cows are killed either by the dead man's "father" or by his heir; if a woman has died, then by her husband. At a man's burial the killing of cows has a legal implication; for the death of a man involves the transfer to another of his wives and property. The necessary legal action mostly takes place after the ceremony of burial is over, during the course of the later religious ritual; but if the inheritance is quite clear and disputes unlikely, then a "father" of the dead man tells the heir to kill the burial cattle. All the people present see him do this and know that he is the heir. And if the inheritance is, after all, denied him later, then the fact that he killed the cows at his brother's (or father's) burial gives him a strong prima facie claim to its recovery in the courts. If the inheritance is doubtful then a "father" of the dead man kills the cows. It is known that he cannot inherit himself, and his killing of the cows is, then, an assertion of his authority to decide who shall do so.

There is a direct relationship between the number of cows killed and the number of people who come to a burial. On one occasion it was

In the case of commoners. Very many cows are killed for the wife or daughter of a chief.

⁸ Ugwise = own or classificatory father, or senior brother who has inherited the father's position.

explained to me: "There are not many people here because there is very little meat; they only killed one bull!" And this connection can be observed at any burial; hundreds of people come to mourn the rich, only a few to mourn the poor. And if no meat is killed there is usually no dancing at all.

The meat is divided between the chief, the relatives, the neighbours and the non-relatives from a distance. To the chief of the country is always given the whole breast and ribs of one beast: "This is to honour him." To each affine who brings a beast a whole leg is returned to eat. To the various groups of non-relatives from other chiefdoms is given sometimes a side, sometimes a leg; and the rest of the meat is divided between the relatives and the neighbours who have come from the same or other age-villages. At large burials, where many cows are killed and where people gather from all the villages of the chiefdom, part of the meat is presented to each of the various great-commoners to eat with his villagers; at smaller burials the division is made less formally.

The reasons for bringing and killing cows are partly ritual, partly ceremonial. The religious ritual most directly concerns the immediate family of the dead man. In killing cows they are, they believe, serving their own interests, for if they omit to do so the spirits will trouble them and perhaps drive them mad. The subsequent ritual (which is not described in this paper) consists, in part, of a pantomime of the actions of the madness which it, together with the sacrifice of cows, is believed to avert.

Not are the spirits of dead relatives the only religious forces which the killing of cows is believed to propitiate; among the villagers who expect to share the meat some are believed to be witches, and if the meat is insufficient they are supposed to join their power to that of the spirits in bringing misfortunes on the dead man's family.

The killing of cows at burial is one of the series of sacrifices which were traditionally made in every family, not only after death, but also whenever any misfortune was traced to (or anticipated from) the spirits. In commoners' families, though prayers and minor sacrifices of chickens and beer are still sometimes made to the spirits, the ritual killing of cattle is now almost entirely confined to occasions of death. But to the ancestors of chiefs such sacrifices are still made at other times.

Although the affines who bring cows have no such direct concern with the consequences of the ritual, yet they, as much as the immediate family, are concerned in the ceremonial aspect of the killing, which variously symbolizes the emotions of affection, grief, sympathy, respect and pride, reinforced and made outwardly obligatory by the sense of shame.

Upon the members of the dead man's family social pressure is not always exerted to provide cattle themselves. If he left sufficient cattle to sustain the family dignity they only kill from his own herd. But, if he has not left sufficient, then they are ashamed not to make good the deficiency. "If no cows are killed at a burial we others (non-relatives) say that it was a mean burial, that the dead man was a pauper without kin, for if he had had kinsmen they would have killed cows for him. So then the relatives grieve their poor griefs alone, we others don't go to that burial." To a poor burial the members of the same village do in fact come, as they are obliged to do; but few other people come, and there is seldom any dancing.

There is one other situation also in which a member of the family is under obligation to kill. If the dead man is buried by his "father" at his "father's" place, then one of his "father's" cows must be killed. But, if his "father" does not choose to exercise his privilege of carrying the body to his place for burial (and he need not do so unless he wishes), then there is no such obligation.

Upon affines, however, the obligation is absolute, unless they actually have not got a cow or bull available. "If a father-in-law brings no beast to his son-in-law's burial, then his daughter is estranged from him, she asks angrily why he does not bring one, seeing that her husband has died." "If a son-in-law does not bring a cow to his father-in-law's burial, though he has one that he might have brought, he is ashamed before men. They say to him 'Your wife's father has died, why did you not bring a cow? Perhaps you think you have a father-in-law still alive (i.e. the dead man's heir, to whom all previous obligations are due, and with whom the relationship of affinity continues very much as before), but he himself, your own father-in-law, has died. "And thus, if insufficient cows are killed to maintain the family dignity, both the family and the affines are made to feel ashamed.

Occasionally a friend of the dead man, who is no relative, brings a bull (never, I think, a cow) to kill, as a sign of friendship and affection, but he has no obligation to do so.

Besides those who bring cows or bulls many more relatives and friends bring cloths "to bury him with." These cloths are handed to the chief mourners, either men or women, as part of the sympathetic greeting on arrival. This gift of a cloth is "a sign of sympathy" (kokuti ndaga), and those relatives and close friends who do not bring cows are ashamed not to bring a cloth. Many of these cloths are buried in the grave, and are believed to go to the place of spirits with the dead; the remainder are kept by the family.

At one burial I was told that the dead man had left no cows of his own; but his brothers killed two cows for him, three beasts were brought by affines, while sixteen cloths were brought by kinsmen, affines and friends. "Why," I asked one of the brothers, "do you spend so much wealth at death?" "Because, we say, as the owner has died let him take his wealth with him to the place of spirits. If he dies in lonely poverty he goes with nothing." The man himself was poor, but, being a member of a well-to-do family, he was, at his death, an owner of wealth.

'The expenditure of cattle by the family is final and irrecoverable, but the beasts brought by affines are not necessarily lost to them. If a young man has agreed with his father-in-law to give five cows for his wife and the old man dies after receiving only four, then, if he brings a cow to the burial, he has completed his marriage payment; and if his wife leaves him later he will claim five cows back. If, however, he has completed the quota before his father-in-law dies, then he will still, if he can, bring yet another cow at the old man's death; but, in that case, should his wife leave him later he can reclaim all six cows. And, similarly if an old man brings a beast to the burial of his daughter's husband, he can, if he wishes, reclaim it later from the heir. Such cows are not usually reclaimed at all but returned at some later burial; the legality of the claim is, however, indisputable. So that the burden of the expenditure of cattle at a burial falls ultimately on the family of the dead man.

Shame is the opposite of prestige, and, while the failure of a dead man's kinsmen to kill cows in accordance with their position is shameful, if they do kill as many as they can afford then they have prestige.

During life a man's social position, or status, depends chiefly on the possession of several wives and many head of cattle and on the use of that labour and wealth for hospitable purposes. The man who entertains his relatives and neighbours well and often, gains both authority and prestige among them; they bring cases to him for arbitration, they are courteous to his face, they praise him and speak admiringly of him in his absence. Social position, both in its practical aspect of authority and in its emotional aspect of prestige, depends primarily on the generous use of wealth, or, to put it more simply, on feeding people. The Nyakyusa have told me so again and again in explaining the relative status of different

men, one man is great and distinguished (nsisya) because he feeds people, another who feeds people less is less distinguished.

The most coveted foods are meat, beer and curds. Only the man rich in cows can give away meat and curds, only the polygynist can give away much beer, for the planting and reaping of millet and the brewing of beer is the work of women. Thus a man who gains possession of wives and cattlegains prestige during his life for himself and his immediate family and that prestige is apparent also at his burial. There many people gather and eat meat, they go home in the evening saying with admiration that it was a most impressive (nsisya) burial; months or years afterwards it is still remembered and described to the inquisitive sociologist, with pride by the family, with admiration by the neighbours.

What is chiefly remembered is the number of cows killed and the number of people present; sometimes the vigour of the women's wailing and of the men's dancing is also described.

THE CONTRAST BETWEEN THE WAILING AND DANCING

We are now in possession of the actual symbols which make up the Nyakyusa ceremonies of burial—the wailing, the dancing, the sympathetic greetings, the smearing with mud, the wearing of many bark-cloths, the bringing of cloths, the killing of cattle, and so on. With these symbols of feeling, as we have seen, various actions and beliefs are either very closely associated or even, in material fact, identical—the burial of the body, the religious ritual and legal action, conceptions of disease, death and the spirit world. In this paper we are attending particularly to the symbolism; we are trying to understand, firstly, why these symbols are employed at death and, secondly, how and why it is that their employment is ceremonial in nature, that is conventional and obligatory.

The emotional quality of mourning (ukulila) is different in Nyakyusa pagan society from its quality in England. The word ukulila in other contexts means to cry, weep or complain aloud; at burial it is used to refer specifically to the wailing, and by extension to the whole of the ceremonial. In its specific reference it is here translated by "wail" or "weep," in its general reference to the whole ceremony by "mourn." The quality of Nyakyusa mourning is both more openly terrified and grievous and also more lively than in England. And these two qualities of fearful grief and vivacity are, on the occasion of burial, very closely connected.

That some at least of those who attend a Nyakyusa burial are moved by grief it is easy to establish. I have heard people talking regretfully in ordinary conversation of a man's death; I have seen a man whose sister had just died walk over alone towards her grave and weep quietly by himself without any parade of grief; and I have heard of a man killing himself because of his grief for a dead son.

But, even among the chief mourners, they are not all grieved: "There are some men," said an old woman, "who have no sorrow when their wives die. I, when his wife died was quite unmoved; and some women are not much upset when they lose their husbands. L. was not when her husband died; perhaps she was thinking of marrying again, for she was quite young. But old women are always grieved for they cannot marry again."

But, whatever their private feelings may be, the chief mourners and other relatives are obliged for very shame to show signs of grief. The chief women mourners, as we have seen, may not dance; the more distant women relatives may not adorn themselves; and all the chief mourners. both men and women, are expected to weep and shed tears. I have seen an old man weeping at his half-brother's burial, although the two had, notoriously, been on very bad terms and had hardly spoken to each other for years. And all relatives, however distant, who come to a burial are expected to greet the chief mourners sympathetically. Very many non-relatives do so too, but they may omit the greeting without offence, if there is a great crowd present.

We have plenty of evidence that the grief of death is largely mixed with fear. It is, indeed, probable that the fear of death (fear of their own future death, fear of the spirits, fear of the contagion of the corpse) touches some people at a burial more deeply than grief. Be this as it may, it is proved that the mourning is, for some, an expression of real fears. And it is the relatives, above all, who are afraid. Neither contagious diseases, nor subsequent affliction by the spirits, nor the vague contagion of the corpse concern any non-relatives, except these who dig the grave and bury the dead man; but all kinsmen and affines fear contagion, and the family fear spiritual afflictions as well.

These fears are dealt with in two ways, ceremonially and ritually. Fear is an immediate state of feeling which the Nyakyusa, on this occasion express and make tolerable in the wailing, the dancing, and so on; but their terror is also rationalized 10 as a fear of certain specific events proceeding from religious¹¹ causes, and is thus also pacified by various ritual

The word "rationalize" properly implies neither truth nor falsehood of thought, but simply the fact of its existence.
 "Religious" is used to cover magic and witchcraft, as well as the more theistic beliefs of the Nyakyusa.

actions which are believed effectively to prevent those happenings. The killing of cows, the washing with magical plants, the subsequent magic of protection which is sometimes administered by a doctor—all these ares rituals designed to check the occurrence of fearful events.

But still the fear, as an actual state of feeling at the time of a death, has to be expressed in some tolerable form. Its expression in the wailing, associated with grief, is already clear; and it is also proved that the wardance is, for the men most affected, both an expression and an alleviation of their terrified grief: "There is war in our hearts—a passion of fear and grief exasperates us—it is made tolerable in the dance."

It is the attitude of the chief mourners that is the clue to the whole ceremonial; and the contrast between terrified wailing and lively dancing, which seems very strange at first to a European observer, is explained by it. The fear and sorrow of death is only emotionally tolerable if its expression is followed by, or combined with, an assertion of life. This is certainly true of the Nyakyusa, and possibly it is universally true. Having no confident expectation of happiness in a future life, these pagan Africans turn at burial to a realization of present life in its most intense quality, to the war-dance, to sexual display, to lively talk and to the eating of great quantities of meat.

And to this emotional reaction of the chief mourners the sympathetic vivacity of other people is essential. When I described the sobriety of an English burial to a group of Nyakyusa they were astonished: "We talk and dance to comfort the relatives. If we others sat sad and glum then the grief of the relatives would far exceed ours. If we just sorrowed what depths of grief would they not reach? And so we sit and talk and laugh and dance until the relatives laugh too."

At the burial of a Nyakyusa Christian there is no dancing; instead the young men of the congregation gather round the grieving relatives and sing cheerful hymns, full of the certainty of Heaven, "to accompany him on his way to God" and "to comfort the mourners."

Here is a description of one of the pagan burials which I observed. It is the second day; the man, who was quite young, died yesterday afternoon and was buried early this morning. I arrive at 7.30 a.m. to find that the wailing is the dominant activity. The dead man's house is full of weeping men and women, shedding tears and wailing in the conventional high-pitched voice. His sister, his young wife, a step-mother, a classificatory brother and two half-brothers, with many other women, are inside the house. The noise is considerable. The rest of the women, fifty or more, are seated just outside, in and around an unfinished bamboo

house which he died leaving half-built; they too are weeping and wailing. A few men are seated in a group on the opposite side of the swept place facing the women; they are either silent or talking soberly.

The emotional pitch is very high. The classificatory brother leaves the house and walks about round the new grave with his hands to his head, shedding tears and calling: "Alas! Alas! What kin are left? Alas! What kin are left?" He is a mature man about forty years old. Then he takes by the hand a half-sister of the dead man, a woman of thirty or more, smothered in mud and pot-black, her belly supported by many bark cloths, and with a baby on her back; together they walk over the grave weeping and wailing, addressing each other in words that I fail to distinguish, and stumbling about as though blind with grief. The baby sleeps quietly all the time. Then comes an old woman, step-mother of the dead man, leading a daughter in each hand (his half-sisters), all wailing, shedding tears and calling out indistinguishable words. They sit down on the newly-filled grave, first making towards it gestures of extreme grief; and there they sit with their arms on one another's shoulders rocking to and fro' and weeping. More people keep arriving and in the background now is the insistent wailing of seventy or a hundred women in and outside the house.

For the first hour after my arrival the drums are only occasionally beaten, and a few young men rush across the grave brandishing spears, but only spasmodically.

The two half-brothers, after wailing in the house, come outside and walk up and down together still weeping. Then they each take a spear and run back and forth several times wailing the dead man's name. One of the half-sisters, meanwhile, rolls over and over in the fresh earth of the grave in passionate contortions, with the tears running down her cheeks. Gradually a group of women relatives collects on the grave, eight or nine of them; they sit huddled up together with their arms on one another's shoulders wailing. One woman, before she sits down, makes a series of trembling gestures towards the grave, crying out "Avaunt!" in fearful grief.

Then, at last, the drums begin in earnest and the young men start to dance. To me, as well as to the Nyakyusa, the insistent vital rhythm of the drums and the sight of the leaping dance fall on the senses gratefully, bringing relief from an almost unbearable tension.¹² The situation

¹³ Such a subjective account of the observer's feelings is, of course, quite value-less in itself; but we have already proved that the Nyakyusa protagonists have feelings of which these are but a sympathetic image.

begins to change. Still in the house the wailing is loud and continuous, but the women on the grave give place to the dancers and return to the house, while the group of women outside gradually ceases wailing and turns all its attention to the dance. The conversation among the men changes also, none are silent now and the talk is more eager than before. Soon the dancers begin to cut the bananas; one stem falls full on a young man's head, causing loud laughter among the onlookers. But at first the dance, though always lively, is by no means wholly gay. The male kinsmen dance with grief in their looks, calling out "Alas!" as each shakes his spear.

No women are yet dancing at all; two or three kinswomen wander about distraught, and one of the half-sisters in particular seems quite blind to the dancers, who have to get out of her way. The situation is, however, a lively one, and it becomes livelier still as the young men from another village come to join in, bringing three more drums with them. Six drums are now being beaten and about thirty young men are dancing. Two hours have passed since I first arrived.

At four-thirty p.m. I am back again to find the scene changed once more. There is no sound of wailing, not even inside the house, and the dancers are having a glorious time. About a hundred men are either dancing or standing round looking on, with a number of girls walking rhythmically about among the dancers. These girls are non-relatives and adorned with great finish.

The young men leap and dance, some with more agility than others; they stamp, roll on the ground, leap in the air, turn somersaults, hurl their spears into the earth and fight invisible enemies. All the spectators, save the chief women mourners and one or two of the men, seem lively and excited. I see the young wife¹³ of the dead man looking tired and sad, and she and the other women chief mourners spend most of the time in the house; but one of the half-brothers, on the other hand, who appeared to be so greatly affected seven or eight hours before, is laughing gaily as he dances.

Two cows have been killed and are now being cut up. As the sun sinks and the dancers go away home, taking their meat with them, the relatives and near neighbours gather round fires and begin to roast and eat the meat. Some is given separately to the groups of friends from other chiefdoms; and by the next morning the whole of the two cows is finished.

¹³ She will die herself four days later. There has been a series of deaths in this family which gossip attributes to the sorcery (ulupembe) of an enemy.

"It was a grand burial," people say afterwards, "we have seen him on his way (to the place of spirits) properly." Wailing and dancing continues for two days more.

There is no criticism of men or women who come to a burial to dance rather than to weep: "They are not relatives—it is our custom of mourning." They are saluting the dead and "seeing him on his way," they are helping "to comfort the relatives." The presence of non-relatives at a burial is variously determined by feelings of affection and grief, of respect and sympathy for the family, by a sense of shame, by fear of being accused of witchcraft, and finally by the attraction of the crowds, the lively conversation, the dancing and the meat.

THE FINAL ANALYSIS

On an emotional occasion, such as a burial, it is the emotional elements of human relationship which are most prominent. Practical co-operation and the exchange of ideas also enter into this event, but less obviously than the elements of feeling, which may be generalized in terms of two pairs of opposites: sympathy and antipathy, prestige and shame. Sympathy is the emotional harmony, in overt expression, of the specific feelings of different people, antipathy is their manifest disharmony. Prestige and shame, on the other hand, are the apparent harmony and disharmony, not of specific, but of directly social feelings.

Specific feelings are not immediately concerned with persons but with the various particular events and conditions of life, with the emotional quality of birth, death, cows, crops, battles, famines, scenery, eating, and so on. But social feelings are directed to people, whether to the self or to other men; expressions of affection, dislike, respect, mockery, contempt, pride and self-love are direct and immediate constituents of human relationship. Prestige is the manifest harmony of an individual's self-feeling with the feelings of other men towards him, shame is their overt disharmony.

If different people on a particular occasion so express their specific emotions that they all feel a certain compatibility in the symbols which they employ, then there is between them all an apparent sympathy of feeling; but if the symbols used by some manifestly jar on the sensitivity of others, there is then an overt antipathy. And again, if a man is surrounded by the symbols of affection and respect, then his pride and self-love are in harmony with the behaviour of his fellows and he has prestige; but if they openly express dislike, contempt and mockery of

him, there is then disharmony between the emotions which they manifest towards him and his own self-feeling and he has shame.

Now every ceremony is a set form of symbolism in which the material expressions of certain specific feelings are employed in a sympathetic, that is an emotionally compatible, manner, and which at the same time gives expression to the prestige of the participants. And the obligatory form of every ceremony arises from the emotional interdependence of human beings, from the unpleasantness and ultimate intolerability of antipathy and shame.

Without symbols there can be no expression of feeling. A symbol is a material form of words, gestures or things generally associated with the emotional quality of certain situations by the members of some human group. The association of symbol with situation is itself made by human feeling, and men are emotionally interdependent. Every one is sensitive to the express feelings, whether specific or social, of other people; and it is only in a manifest harmony with one another that full self-expression is possible to individual men. If different people, on the same occasion, employ symbols which they themselves feel to be mutually incompatible, then the situation is unpleasant, and if the incompatibility is felt to be very great then it is "impossible." A manifest disharmony of feeling often arises momentarily in human affairs, but it cannot continue without disrupting the relationships of those concerned, disrupting them just as effectively as a clash of interests would do. And so the reason for the obligatory form of ceremonies, and of every convention, or rule of manners, is that it is only by limiting the possible associations between symbol and situation that overt incompatibilities of feeling can be avoided and social relationships continue to exist.

A convention is a generally accepted and limited association of symbol and situation, and a ceremony is a complex of conventions. The obligatory force of conventions is not only necessitated but actually maintained by the interdependence of men. Because the limited association is generally accepted, any individual who flouts it finds himself in open disharmony with many or all of his fellows who are present, and consequently the resulting emotional discomfort bears far more hardly on him than on anyone else.

Specific and social feelings are inseparably connected, and the man whose specific symbols are manifestly incompatible with those of his fellows thereby loses prestige among them. His behaviour jars on their feelings and their resulting mockery, criticism and contempt jar on him and make him ashamed.

It is the sense of shame that causes people to make use of conventional symbols, even when their secret emotions do not correspond. Convention leaves the human heart free to hold any feelings it pleases, dictating only the material expressions which must be employed. For incompatibilities of feeling, provided they remain unexpressed, leave human relationships intact; it is only the manifest disharmonies which are disruptive.

The greater the intensity of feeling that is generally aroused by any situation the greater is the force of the conventions which surround it; for specific and social feelings are inseparably connected. It is in the moments of most intense specific emotion that a man is most sensitive to the sympathy of his fellows and to the prestige which he has among them; and it is at such times, therefore, that antipathy and shame are least bearable. It is no accident that Nyakyusa burials draw crowds in apparent sympathy, nor that they are among the chief occasions for the manifestation of family prestige, nor that men's behaviour there is at every turn conventionally limited.

The chief mourners at a Nyakyusa burial are normally both sad and afraid; and, even if they are not truly grieved, they are ashamed not to employ the symbols of sorrow, they have no wish to be mocked and despised for their lack of feeling. The more distant kinsmen, the affines, the villagers and the chief are likewise often affected by the death; and, even when really little moved by affection, grief, sympathy or respect, yet they are impelled by shame to the conventional manifestations.

The chief mourners need the overt sympathy of their friends, neighbours and relatives, both in their fearful grief and in the lively reaction which makes it bearable; while their pride is concerned to give as splendid a burial as they can afford. It is the pride of the chief mourners, expressed in the killing of more cattle than the religious ritual demands, that brings to the burial of a rich man many people whom neither grief nor any obligation affects.

The force of shame, which checks breaches of convention by making them painful for the breaker, has been abundantly illustrated in the foregoing description. The behaviour of a chief who regularly stays away from burials, of a woman chief mourner who dances gaily, of an affine who brings no cow though he can afford to do so, of a family that is mean in the provision of cattle—such behaviour jars in antipathy with the normal feelings, the accepted symbolism of the social group, and the resulting reactions of the majority, in their turn, jar on the unconventional man and make him ashamed.

The order of the social world is far looser and more flexible than that which popular speech attributes to the physical and biological worlds. Social order does not consist in the absence of irregularities but rather in a continuous social pressure which tends to check their occurrence but can never wholly do so. To say that a convention is obligatory in form is not to say that it is never broken, but that it can only be unpleasantly and shamefully broken. Similarly it is possible to break a law, but only at the cost of some material disadvantage; it is possible to flout the rules of logic, but only at the risk of misunderstanding. Social order is both necessitated and actually maintained by the interdependence of human beings, emotional, practical and intellectual; but that order is always human, it is neither mechanical nor organic.

And social order is always limited in extent. Human society has never yet been organized as a whole for any considerable period of time, but always in a number of limited areas. At certain points of space and time ordered human relationships cease; there either no relationships exist at all or else they exist in the paradoxical form of war. Warfare is the most irrational fact with which sociology deals; it is, at the same time, institutional and overtly anarchical, conventional and openly outrageous; it is an occasion of logical speech and often also of deliberate and accepted misunderstanding.

There is no space to discuss warfare here but only to point out that the failure of social order wholly to dominate the traditional Nyakyusa ceremonies of burial and the frequent outbreaks of warfare there are facts by no means unique, but paralleled on different occasions in the history of every human group. Before the Europeans imposed peace the order of Nyakyusa society was extremely fragmentary; law and convention had little strength beyond the tiny groups of kindred and chiefdom, and warfare even between two villages of the same chief was not infrequent. And this broken character of their social order was one of the determinants of the form of their burials.

We are now in a position to summarize our conclusions: it is maintained, firstly, that the emotional reactions which are normal among the members of any social group are determined by the institutions and the accepted concepts of that group. The association of a wild and excited dance with expressions of extreme grief and fear at a burial would be wholly out of place in the sophisticated and semi-Christian society of England; but in Nyakyusa pagan society it is appropriate. Because Nyakyusa actions and concepts are to some extent different from those of the English their feelings are somewhat different too and differently

expressed. And, secondly, it is maintained that the obligatory, conventional form of ceremonial and of all emotional expression of any kind arises from the emotional interdependence of man, from the emotional necessity of sympathy and prestige, the impossibility of resting for long in antipathy and shame.



NATURE AND VARIETY OF TRIBAL DRAMA

By H. I. E. DHLOMO

A. IZIEONGO

In The Critic of October, 1935, Professor G. P. Lestrade, in an article on "Bantu Praise-Poems," writes, "With regard to the language in which they (i.e. the poems) are couched it may be sufficient to indicate here that the language is in general difficult and obscure, that a very large number of words and phrases occur the meaning of which is no longer known, that many archaic forms present themselves; that the construction of the sentences tends to be laconic and even staccato." Mr. B. W. Vilakazi finds the same difficulty. In his "The Conception and Development of Poetry in Zulu" (Bantu Studies, June, 1938) he writes, "You will notice when you follow the subject-matter that there does not seem to be a systematic treatment of the main theme so as to form one complete and analysable vista. There is lack of perfect continuous description of a mood. The poet seems to ramble without control over his subject matter. But looking at it objectively, the whole poem is laconic and staccato, the gaps between different treated headings demand mental experience of the whole poem before the analysing of its contents."

Both writers are correct in their findings. But, it seems to me, they fail to probe the secret of the "gaps." Prof. Lestrade puts it down to "the peculiar working of the Bantu mind," which, in my opinion, seems a begging of the question. Vilakazi, on the other hand, states flatly that each gap indicates the end of a stanza: "When I read a primitive poem and come on a gap, there I discover the end of my stanza."

What can be the explanation of this puzzle? I submit that the tribal literary forms whose nature and construction have baffled many investigators, are in reality mutilated and distorted remains of primitive, tribal dramatic pieces. (Of course, there are *Izibongo* that are pure poems. Of these I shall say nothing. But others, I claim, are tribal dramatic compositions.) The African tribal, dramatic poet was handicapped and fettered by the traditional method of poetic expression, the *Izibongo*; so that when he composes dramatic dialogue he confounds us by clothing it in the outward form of the ordinary *Izibongo*. He presents his dramatic piece in a "solid," rigid form. He does not give us the dramatis personae, the signs where each speech begins, ends or is inter-

rupted, nor the exits or the entrances. The "gaps" of which the investigators complain, are, in fact, the beginnings and the ends of speeches by different characters in the dramatic composition. That this is so is shown by the fact that despite the "gaps" there is some vital connection and meaning in the compositions, and the narrative is continuous and consecutive. (The very fact that there were itinerant bards going from place to place entertaining people, proves that many of the *Izibongo* were dramatic, and used purely for purposes of entertainment.) Let me illustrate what I mean. We shall take a short tribal composition quoted by Vilakazi. It is entitled "Mcayi, the Daughter of Vuma." Let us reconstruct this piece in the light of what we have said:

MCAYI, THE DAUGHTER OF VUMA

(A Tribal Dramatic Fragment)

Dramatis Personae:

- A: Cousin to Vuma's daughter, who pleads her case.
- B: D's *induna* who argues, as Africans will when a woman is lobolead (in order to get the number of *lobolo* cattle reduced), that Vuma's daughter is not good enough for his great master.
- C: Vuma.
- D: A neighbouring Chief, suitor to Vuma's daughter.

 A yard. Enter A and B, arguing
- A: She's like a ball which rolls to and fro.

 She's generous to strangers as well as family members.

 She is the strong woman who inspires men.
- B: She's like unto a snake coiled at the gate,
 And denies entrance to cows and their calves.
- A: She's the smart woman with a combination of two colours, As she fights between the striped and the white. She's as tall as legs of children.
- B: (Sarcastic)
 Can mealies be boiled on rocks,
 While fire is kindled by wild buck?²
 Even the Mamba³ feared and slipped away cautiously from tree tops.

3 i.e. the Chief, D.

See pages 113-114 in The Conception and Development of Poetry in Zulu.
 She is not a good worker, is too wild to make a good wife who should keep the home fires burning.

Her mealie-fields are ploughed near her lover's home, So that he should see and choose her.⁴ She plays tricks upon tricksters:

Let those who can tame her try to do so, even with grinding stones.⁵

(Enter C, i.e. Vuma)

A: (Running to him in despair)

O, my uncle, the Cattle⁶ hate the bride, They fear she's a wild beast, They fear the bride, They fear her. (Enter D)

B: (Saluting and announcing his master)
Behold here comes the Mighty One.

The End.

This dramatic fragment in its ordinary, "solid" form reads:

"She's like a ball which rolls to and fro.

She's generous to strangers as well as family members.

She is the strong woman who inspires men.

She's like unto a snake coil'd at the gate,

And denies entrance to cows and calves.

She's the smart woman with a combination of two colours,

As she fights between the striped and the white.

She's as tall as legs of children.

Can mealies be boiled on rocks?

While fire is kindled by wild buck?

Even the mamba feared and slipped away cautiously from tree tops.

Her mealie fields are ploughed near her lovers home,

So that he should see and choose her.

She plays tricks upon tricksters:

Let those who can tame her try to do so, even with grinding stones.

O, my uncle, the cattle hate the bride,

They fear she's a wild beast,

They fear the bride,

They fear her, pehold here comes the mighty one."

She only pretends to be a hard worker in order to attract Chief D.

⁵ To grind corn needs skill, and is often set as a test for the young bride's working abilities.

[&]quot;Cattle," i.e. those who have come to pay the lobolo cattle (that is, A) for the bride. (This is an example of personification to which reference is made elsewhere in this study.)

No wonder investigators talk of gaps!

In "The Bible: Designed to be Read as Literature," certain European biblical and literary scholars have done what I am trying to do for Bantu tribal literature. They have taken ancient Hebrew literature, which ordinarily (i.e. in the Bible) appears in one, "solid" prose form, and rearranged it as it ought, from the outset, to have been arranged, that is, as prose, poetry, drama, etc. Here, the Book of Job, for example, appears as it really is, a great philosophic drama; the beautiful Song of Songs, which is Solomon's, is arranged as a moving dramatic idyll; the Psalms and some of the Prophets are shown as they are—inspired Hebrew, poems.

"Let him kiss me with the kisses of his mouth;
For thy love is better than wine.
Thine ointments have a goodly fragrance;
They name is as ointment poured forth;
Therefore do the virgins love thee."

How divinely charming to find these beautiful, familiar cadences appearing in their poetic dress which the Authorised Version denies us!

What biblical scholars claim for Job and the Song of Solomon, I claim for some of our tribal literary compositions. What scholarship has done not only for Hebrew, but for mutilated, fragmentary Egyptian and Greek literature, I believe it can do for African tribal literature, provided African scholars and imaginative writers are encouraged to publish what they write.

Π

It will be seen that the *Izibongo* of the kings do not fall under this category. The *Izibongo* of kings are not amorous. Personally, I believe that the poems and the *Izibongo* of amatory and general character are earlier and more genuine native stuff than the ordinary praise-poems of kings. Before the rise of Shaka, the people lived a quiet, full and homely life. They tilled, hunted, played, danced, feasted, loved and married freely. Naturally, the tribal bards sang of all this, many of their compositions, no doubt, being amorous. The coming of Shaka brought about great changes and wide repercussions. Life ceased to be hedonistic, peaceful and safe. The policy of *laissez-faire* succumbed to one of tyranny. People became military-minded. Shaka's domestic and foreign policy, his great wars of conquest, and his studied ruthlessness transformed tribal life and gave it new patterns of behaviour, new channels of thought,

new political ideologies. The demon of war, the menace of invasion, the fear of annihilation, the restlessness of whole tribal migrations and endless group treks, shook the very foundations of African life, and gave birth to a whole catalogue of changes, developments and upheavals. To trace these historical events is outside the scope of this study. Dr. George McCall Theal in his "Progress of South Africa in the Century" and in his great study of South African history, narrates how wide the repercussions of these wars were, and how far-reaching their importance in the history of this country. The whole of Southern Africa was affected.

These great changes must have been reflected in the oral literature of the people. The bards no longer sang of the hunt, the dance, and of romance. They sang of battles, of victories, of brave deeds, of heroes great. Shaka's despotism must have led tribal bards to sing less even about heroes and their deeds, and more about the king and his victories. Each composed to please the god, Shaka. The poets of other tribes must have followed suit to some great extent. Gradually the character of the *Izibongo* changed until most of them became merely laudatory.

It is logical, therefore, to assert that the more amorous, homely and catholic the *Izibongo* are, the older and more genuinely characteristic. African tribes further north who were least affected by Shaka's wars and changes of custom, still have a rich store of these archaic dramatic compositions.

• III

Let us examine another form of tribal poetic composition, the children's play-poems and jingles. We need only quote the following examples to show that these were creations of dramatic poets anxious and struggling to discover a form of dramatic expression:

NTUNJAMBILI

Strophe
Litshe likaNtunjambili
Ngivulele ngingene,
Litshe likaNtunjambili
Ngivulele ngingene.

Antistrophe
Alivulwa ngabantu,
Livulwa zinkonjane
Zona zindiza phezulu.

Epode Ngingene. Ngingene.

Vula, ngingene.

UNDWENDWEZANA

A: Uhani lo? B: UNdwendwezana A: Uza kuhani? B: Uza kuNdwendwe A: Ndwendwe-kweza Ndwendweni? R: A: Kwezani? B: Kweza iphendula A: Phendulani? B: Phendul' ibece A: Receni? B: Bece-mkhupha A: Mkhuphani? B: Mkhupha-nongwe A: Nongweni? B: Nongwe-inogele A: Geleni? B: Gele-nkukhu A: Nkukhuni? B: Nkukhu neganda A: Qandani? B: Oanda-mcosu A: Mcosuni? B: Mcosu-muntu Muntuni? A:

CI

Chorus

Gqumelegqeni, ayitshitshi intaka, ikhehla laseMbo elimtutwana, lifofozela amabande alishumi. Isiphongo senkehli iya ececeni.

Indoor tribal games abound with dramatic dialogue of this kind.

The Izibongo reveal a higher stage of artistic development than the tribal dramatic festivals (see below). In the Ihlambo and the Nomkhubulwana ceremonies, and in certain mysterious magical rites, the end is not mere pleasure or entertainment, but a utilitarian, a practical one—the protection of man, and the appeasement or invocation of the tribal gods and ancestors. In the dramatic Izibongo the aim no longer is a practical one. The Izibongo are an end in themselves.

Some birds-songs, too, are composed in dramatic dialogue.

B. INGOMA

These were rhythmic, choral-dramatic dances, sometimes accompanied by measured beats of the drum. The members of the ballet were also the members of the chorus. Nothing in tribal society belonged to the individual. The crops, wealth, land and even the children belonged, not to the individual guardian, but to the community. In a way, art was no exception to this rule. The harmonic sense was so highly developed

that it was enough for one individual to compose the melody of a tune and then introduce it to his companions, who would instantly learn the given melody, compose parts to it, sing the whole choral song there and then, and dance to it rhythmically.

In some cases the bard shrouded himself in the skin of an animal, and strutted about in front of the choral-dancing group, acting. The bard inspired the dance-choral group to song and action by his poetic outpourings. Says Vilakazi, "The excitement is not derived from the rhythmic swinging and thumping of their feet, but from the words and melody of the song composed to the dancing step." This is much higher in artistic development than the *Ihlambo* and the witch-doctor's dance (itself dramatic and psychological), which sought to excite feeling by means, not of words, but of action only.

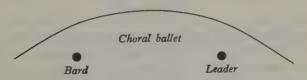
The *Ingoma* dances were a form of tribal art most akin to pure drama, for they combined poetry and action, song and make-up. Let us consider another example quoted by Vilakazi. We shall reconstruct it into the form in which it should originally have appeared.

INGOMA

(A Tribal Lyrical Dramatic Fragment)

Characters

- A: An *Induna* (represented by a leading warrior who talks and dances in front of the choral ballet)
- B: The Chief (represented by the bard who, together with A, struts about before the choral ballet)
- C: A scout (inhloli)
- D: The choral ballet, consisting of warriors



Sometimes the warriors are two or three deep; and when the *Ingoma* is at its height, and the performers are intoxicated by feeling, inspired individuals leave the ranks of the dance-singers, burst into the front, and themselves let loose a flood of poetic frenzy. Therefore at its peak moments the full *Ingoma* can be shown thus:

Choral ballet three deep



- A: As I crossed the river I saw a Zulu smith carrying a bundle of sticks.
- B: Then Ndaba⁷ will arm and attack us.
- A: You shouldn't have done it—this your quarrel with him.

 Behold thou hast rolled a boulder; people will die.

 (enter scout perspiring)
- C: Here come the scythemen, the Zulu warriors, to mow us down.
- B: Ah! Exile is our lot. To new lands we must fly. Would I had power to fight these prowling Zulu lions. Alas! I am not what I used to be.

(a pause)

Wo, heyiya⁸ hhe!

D: (i.e. the Chorus, taking up the theme, harmonising and dancing to it)

A bundle of spears.

Then Ndaba will be armed and will attack.

People will die; here come the scythemen.

Exile has been our lot,

I am not what I used to be.

Wo, heyiya hhe!

The End.

The original traditional *Ingoma* upon which this little dramatic piece has been composed, consists of the lines appearing under D above. But as reconstructed here, the significance of its dramatic quality can be appreciated.

[.] Inspired individuals.

^{*} The "star" leaders, A and B.

⁷ The Zulu king.

⁸ A sigh of regret and despair.

Therefore we can claim that the *Ingoma*, like *IziBongo*, is a dramatic representation of artistic importance; that there are spectators and performers; that there is emotional acting; that it is more than a wordless tangled dance movement. The dancers are inspired by words of poetic fire and beauty; the action is accompanied by, or interspersed with music; the whole has no practical or magical motive. It is an entertainment in celebration of a battle episode. Like all art it excites, intensifies and sublimates feeling. There is story and action.

C. FESTIVALS

Mysteries, miracles and moralities—and Greek Tragedy—had their origin in religious ritual. Backward races have elaborate religious ceremonies. But through the passage of time, as religious thought deepens, ritual takes the form of art.

The tribal African was no exception to this rule. Tribal life abounds in elaborate religious ceremonies—the feast of the harvest, the feast of first-fruits, initiation ceremonies, death festivals, Nomkhubulwana (a goddess) ceremonies, etc. These festivals were intensely dramatic and picturesque affairs. Let us take one example to illustrate our point. When a king died, several festivals were observed. Although each ceremony is a complete dramatic representation in itself, nevertheless it is part of a great tragic performance connected with the passing of a great national figure. What is called a death ritual is something of deeper meaning. First, it was a farewell reception to a great man destined to a new sphere of activity. Second, it was a welcome reception to a new ancestral spirit. In this great ceremony there are five divisions or five "acts": Death, Burial, Mourning, Ihlambo (Cleansing), and Ukubuyisa (the bringing back of the spirit of the deceased). Let us summarise what happens in each "act."

ACT I: DEATH

- (1) The death of the king is kept a secret. This at once calls for histrionic powers in those concerned for they have to live by "acting" or pretence.
 - (2) Special language is used, e.g. ukudunguzela.

To prove that this is true, and to try to do for Bantu tribal dramatic art-forms what scholars have done for Hebrew and other literatures, the present writer has deliberately grafted this tribal dramatic piece in his play, Shaka. Of this point (the preservation and development of archaic tribal art-forms by grafting them into modern works, etc.), more is said in the manuscript of which this essay is but an extract.

- (3) Make-up: hair is cut, silence observed, work stops, fasting compulsory.
- (4) Isililo (mourning) dirge rises and falls at regular intervals. As each group of mourners approaches the royal kraal, it raises a wail, and those within respond by wailing and humming.

ACT II: BURIAL

- (1) A beast, an ox usually, is slaughtered.
- (2) The grave is prepared secretly, treated with medicine, covered with branches (newly cut), fenced in with stone, and is guarded by warriors.
- (3) The hut of the deceased and those of his widows, tidied up and cleaned, smeared with dung, and sprinkled with medicine.
- (4) A grand procession of armed men followed by women, who place their hands on their heads or chests, wailing. This procession takes the form of an elaborate, slow-measured drill or march past.
 - (5) The army sings its songs. The people join in a death dirge.
 - (6) The bard steps in front and trots about reciting praise-poems.
 - (7) Personal effects of the deceased carefully placed in the grave.
 - (8) Beast killed to cleanse those who officiate at graveside.
 - (9) Beast slaughtered to wash the hands of all the people.
- (10) People bathe in water treated with preparation of a scented plant.

ACT III: MOURNING

- (1) Women wear circlets of woven grass.
- (2) Children wear necklaces of flowers of a certain plant, so that they may receive protection and blessings from the *ithongo* (spirit) of the deceased.
 - (3) Brass and other ornaments are taboo.
 - (4) Many other personal and sex taboos observed.
 - (5) Herbal preparations used to strengthen and purify the mourners.

ACT IV: IHLAMBO

(1) A great hunt takes place. The flesh of the game, which is said to be unclean, is thrown to the dogs.

- (2) Hunt and other songs performed.
- (3) Maidens meet the returning hunters and join in the song and dance.
 - (4) Praise-poems recited.
- (5) Bards and *indunas* of standing deliver orations both to the spirit of the deceased and to "those" who will ascend the throne.
 - (6) Beer-drinking.
- (7) Ihlambo beast slaughtered and eaten. The meat is treated with medicine to cleanse the people.
- (8) Just as the men "wash their spears" by joining in the hunt, the women "wash the hoes" by an acted digging in the fields.
 - (9) Regiments of the king are sprinkled with special preparations.

ACT V: UKUBUYISA

- (1) Beast slaughtered.
- (2) Portion of the meat is put in a "corner" of the hut. This, for the *Idlozi* (ancestral spirit) who is supposed to come by night and taste the provision. Portion is burnt with flowers as an offering.
- (3) The ancestral praise-poems are recomposed so as to include the name, praises and the history of the deceased, a new spirit.
 - (4) Singing and feasting.
 - (5) Herbal preparations taken.

This, briefly, represents the great, tragic performance undertaken on the death of a king. Let us now proceed to analyse this tribal dramatic representation.

- 1. The ceremony did not aim at delineation, education or propaganda. It was a magico-religious representation. Bantu tribal drama was never didactic. It was ceremonial, and sprang from the life of the people.
- 2. Tribal drama was national. Above, we have seen that it was on a large, communal scale. It treated of matters that concerned the people as a whole. Its patrons were the tribe. Its stage, communal lands. Its actors, the people. In the few instances where dramatic representations were personal, they were staged privately with no audience. But the public dramatic representations were always of tribal significance.

Tribal drama was customary and traditional. It was not mercenary. Nothing was done for the commercial profit of individuals or syndicates. Drama was for the good of the people. The actors were the servants of the State. Acting was social, religious, obligatory. The performances were seasonal, held in the open, and free to all and sundry.

- 3. These were occasions for creative work. The talented composed poems, speeches, songs and dance numbers. This is a strong point in our argument that the festivals were a kind of drama.
- 4. Tribal Africans were great actors. Witness how these tribal men could, with little or no effort, change from grave to light mood, from weeping to gossiping. We have seen that every "act," and all divisions within the "acts," were timed strictly. Each part, even wailing, began and stopped at a specified time. The people were acting. One moment they were gay and talkative, the next they were grave and mute; now all were expectant and restless, anon all were happy and indifferent—all according to the vagaries of Fate, the dictates of traditions, or the instructions of tribal officials. On these occasions the people used their powers of mimicry, creative emotion, gesticulation, simulation. The ceremonial festivals were, therefore, the counterpart, the beginnings of a Bantu theatrical movement. If drama is a social art, then it is not foreign but native to African genius for Bantu life is social, communal.

(To-day a life of oppression, uncertainty and varying shades of fortune has made of the African a still more accomplished actor. In the presence of authority, for example, the African is a model of humility, simplicity and obedience; but at his home and among his associates, he is the personification of dignity, imperturbability and wisdom. Go to any of the numerous African churches and see how dramatic the whole procedure is. Yet how often one hears people say the African is happy, care-free and insensitive because he smiles—ignorant of the fact that behind those smiles and calm expression, lie a rebellious soul, a restless mind, a bleeding heart, grim determination, a clear grasp of facts and the situation, the highest aspirations, stupendous ambitions, the will to live.)

- 5. Make-up had its share in tribal drama. Faces bedaubed with ochre, robes of animal skins donned by the bards, decorations such as circlets, necklaces, girdles, all played their part.
- 6. The tribal audience participated in the ritual plays. This was the result of tribal, communal life. Active participation by the audience served to spur on the actors and to register appreciation. The audience ceased to participate or did so half-heartedly if the actors did not come up

to standard. This was good for both sides, and would be good for some modern productions. However, a tribal audience should not be thought of in terms of a modern one. Between the tribal spectators and the tribal performers there was no strict line drawn. In many cases the spectators, as it were in a cricket match, were in fact actors awaiting their turn, ihlombe (lit. "shoulder;" meaning, "ovation.") The tribal spectators came, not passively to be entertained, but to take an active part themselves. It was a need, an obligation, besides being a diversion.

- 7. Although there was no scenery as we know it to-day. African tribal actors realised the great value of, and the important part played by surroundings, atmosphere or scenery in dramatic representations. In the festivals described above, we have seen the important part played by scented herbs, flowers, and medicinal preparations. The tribal actor took great care to choose a suitable place and time for his dramatic representations. For example, if his intention was to create awe, mystery and wonder among the people, he chose surroundings that helped create the intended atmosphere. Awe-inspiring, mystery, dramatic rituals were staged, not in daytime nor even at dead of night (for there is some serenity and peacefulness about the dead of night), but at the intoxicating, aromatic hours of twilight when everything looks weird, shadowy, ghostly; when Nature perfumes herself, so to speak; when there is a clash between the retiring day creatures and the waking night animals; when there is a discordant symphony of ebbing daylight melodies and rising nocturnal croons. We have said "aromatic" hours, because the tribal actor appreciated the efficacy of fragrant and stimulating herbs which were used to arouse certain emotions and moods.
- 8. The tribal African classed himself with animals which he believed affected his life for good or ill. These, as we have seen, played an important, if somewhat mysterious, role in tribal dramatic festivals. Animals were regarded as totems, as reincarnations of ancestors, as signs of fortune, as omens of ill-luck. Dead or alive, actual or personified, animals were always near man. The point is that tribal man felt he was related to the other forms of creation, even to the stars. His slightest word or act might disturb the stellar world or beget a universal cataclysm. It was a childish thought: it was a profound thought:
 - "All things in immortal power
 Near or far,
 Hiddenly
 To each other linked are,
 That thou canst not stir a flower
 Without troubling of a star."

Out of the muddle and chaos of superstition came forth beauty and meditation. Tricks of ignorance were themselves tricked. For, driven by superstitious fear and madness, the tribal man's mind

"......in a fine frenzy rolling,
Doth glance from heaven to earth, from earth to heaven,
And, as imagination bodies forth
The forms of things unknown...
Turns them to shapes, and gives to airy nothing
A local habitation and a name."

9. The elements of mystery and of uncertainty play an important part in tribal dramatic representations. African life has a wealth of mystery ceremonies. The inspired tribal dramatic poet himself often is a puzzle. Yet this is as it should be. Does not the African seer wrestle with the mighty problems of the relation between Spirit and Man, between man and man; of the mystery of death and life, pain and joy? The strange abalozi (spirit) voices, African tribal spiritualism, the activities of African secret societies, the often amazing results of tribal occultism, these and other facets of tribal life are puzzles and riddles calling for solution. Psycho-analysis and its teaching about the subconscious mind, psychic research and its problems of the supernatural (in which even a great poet like the late W. B. Yeats and an eminent scientist like Sir Oliver Lodge, believed), and many other "modern" theories and developments go a long way to prove that tribal man was no fool, that some of his "superstitions" were no superstitions, and that behind his magic, ritual and spirit-voices there may be something useful after all. No wonder tribal Africans were such spontaneous, prolific poets. And who shall say whether this power does not lie dormant but ready in the soul of the African to-day:

That shook the hosts of men and made them cringe:
The Thing that hurled them prostrate at his feet
And bent their hearts to fervent loyalty?
Perchance 'tis fleeing from the Hound of Heaven,
Or else, maybe, it ever rests and broods
Undaunted in the AmaZulu hearts.''10

Some may object and say that the *Ihlambo*, a primitive ritual, cannot correctly be said to contain the germs of a great art such as drama. But it is true that research has proved conclusively that there is a close relation

¹⁰ Darlow in his poem Shaka in African Heroes.

between ritual and drama. In "Ancient Art and Ritual," Dr. J. E. Harrison writes, "Now the meaning of this thrice-told tale (of Osiris) we shall consider later; for the moment we are concerned with the fact that it is set forth both in art and in ritual. In Egypt, then, we have clearly an instance—only one of many—where art and ritual go hand in hand. Ancient art and ritual are not only closely connected, not only do they mutually explain and illustrate each other, but . . . they actually arise out of a common human impulse."

D. SYMPATHETIC MAGIC

In some respects, drama is essentially a primitive man's art. It springs from a combination of certain human weaknesses that are also human triumphs. Primitive man found himself surrounded by a mysterious universe whose meaning, law and order he could not understand. Life was often a burden sore, and a source of fear, misery and pain. Not infrequently life ran counter to, and clashed with his desires, instincts and efforts.

It is still so to-day. But civilised man has acquired the power of reasoned and directed thinking by means of which he is able to ward off many perils of life. Civilised man has learned the art of adaptation. He knows why, how and when he must adapt himself to Nature, and when, why and how he must harness her to his own needs. To tribal man the centre and meaning of life were tribal man himself. In his inspired moments he tried to get the better of Nature by acting his ambitions and desires. He attempted to dictate to Nature by means of magic. He sought to teach the Spirits and the elements what to do and what not, and tell them what he wanted, by means of acting his needs and wishes. that to tribal man, unlearned in the ways of reasoned, directed thinking, dramatic action came more naturally. Magic was his science; rhythmic dramatic representation his art. Instead of adapting himself to Life, he always attempted to bend Life to his desires by imagining and acting what life should be in relation to, and because of his person. This gave birth to what anthropologists call Sympathetic Magic. The people believed that like always and everywhere produced like. Consequently, imitation, which is a basis of drama, played a major part in certain African dramatic representations. If the people wanted to precipitate rain, to kill and conquer in battle, cause pain and disaster to an enemy, they had only to "imitate," make a representation of, these things. Since they believed in the principle of sympathetic magic they were extremely careful exactly to imitate, to dramatise, whatever result they desired to a accomplish, and their dramatic representations of battle, pain, hunt, etc.,

were vivid, realistic, artistic performances. Many of these tribal, magical dramatic representations sprang from the desire to have much food, many children, and to conquer in battle. Therefore these anticipatory ceremonies were psychological and imaginative, revealing the thoughts, the feelings and the desires of the people, and giving full play to the faculty to imagine and conceive.

II

Drama and the *Izibongelo*¹¹ are one form of art. Both spring from a desire to make a representation of something; both are marked by emotional feeling, poetic exultation and a rhythmic tendency; both are the result of man's desire to express his innermost thoughts, aspirations, sentiments; both employ action. The *Izibongelo* tell a real story, the story of tribal life, and tell it in poetry. The story and the poetry are based on the actions of the people.

We do not claim much for the tribal dramatic poet. We do not pretend that he dealt with matters of abstract thought and metaphysics. But he certainly created works of art. And to those who hold that tribal man was incapable of intellectual work of this kind, let us say that by means of intuition and imaginative art, the Universal Mind can and does express itself actively through primitive men and humble. Even those who may be inclined to think that we have elevated tribal representation into one of the highest expressions of art, will agree that upon these tribal dramatic sources, great original African drama can be built. This is most important. To-day, in music, in poetry, in dancing, in drama, painting and architecture, men seek new forms, idioms and styles of technique to express the ever-green artistic impulse. Cannot Africa infuse new blood into the weary limbs of the older dramatic forms of Europe? Are African scholars and artists and writers incapable of creating something fresh and young from these archaic tribal artistic forms?

Art is primitive. It is of the very stuff of creation, of life. Rhythm and emotion are its life-blood. It is not in highly civilised, but in comparatively backward societies where rhythm and emotion fetter and sway man. That is why great art often flowers out gloriously in humble societies and backward.

¹¹ The writer uses this term to cover all forms of tribal dramatic art.

A PRELIMINARY CHECK LIST OF ZULU NAMES OF PLANTS

With Short Notes

By REV. JACOB GERSTNER, Ph.D.

(continued)

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- 716. *u(lu)Gabane* (1) according to Bryant a kind of kafir corn (*amabele*) with short stalk and long ear.
- 717. u(lu)Gabashane (1) according to Bryant the same as uGabane.
- 718. uGabavu (3, Ongoye and Ngome forest) according to Bews Trichocladus grandiflorus Oliv., a shrub of our Mist-belt forests.
- 719. *i(li)Gabe*, (1 W & S), according to Weintroub Sonchus oleraceus L., the wild Lettuce.
- 720. isiGadagada (1), according to Weintroub 731 Dioscorea rupicola Kth.
- 721. umGadankawu (1) a herbalist's emetic for love charm.
- 722. uGadigadi (1), according to Bryant, a kind of red maize.
- 723. amaGagajane (1, W & S) fruits of isibaganja.
- 724. u(lu)Gagane, (general) Dichrostachys glomerata, and Dichrostachynyasana, the Sikelbos, a mimosa tree the branches of which are transformed with horrible strong thorns. In the Inguwavuma District and Swaziland all climbing Mimosa (e.g. Acacia pennata Willd., Acacia Kraussiana Meissn., Entada natalensis Bth. are called uGagane.
- 725. isiGaganja, (1, W & S) tree with pinate leaves Lannea discolor Engl.

- 726. u(lu) Gagu, (general), Acacia natalitia E. M. (the Natal-form of Acacia horrida Wild.). Once used for fencing the isigodlo. This name is also used for (2 W & S) Dichrostachus Nyassana, (1 NS), Acacia barbertonensis Schweickerät at d (2 NUB & NTN) Acacia retinens Sim.
- 727. umGalagala, according to O. B. Miller Buxus Macowani and Notobuxus natalensis Oliv. (S & X).
- 728. umGalanci, (1, NES) Euclea spec.
- 729. umGalanga (1), a tree in Natal.
- 730. uGalonci, (2) a kind of edible gourd having smooth or warted shell.
- 731. uGamamaweni, "Growing on the precipice," (1 NP) Begonia Dregei Ott & Dietr. and similar ones eaten as raw vegetable.
- 732. uGambu, (1 NES) a plant.
- 733. uGamfe, the same as uGamfemfe.
- 734. uGamfemfe, (3, NUF) Bidens pilosa L., the Black Jacks.
- 735. uGampokwe, (1, NMA), the same as uKampokwe, the cotton plant, Gossypium Africanum Watt, etc.
- 736. umGampunzi, according to O. B. Miller (1 S & X) Acacia spec.
- 737. umGana, according to Stevenson and Sim the same as umGanu.
- 738. *umGanankawu*, (1) according to Bews a kind of Albizzia, a thornless Mimosa tree.
- 739. in Ganga (1) according to Mogg Helichrysum.
- 740. *u(lu)Gangampuza*, (1) according to Bryant a certain small shrub, whose bark is used as fibre.
- 741. isiBanganyane (general) a tree Lannea discolor Engl.
- 742. i(li)Gangashane (1, S & X) according to Mogg 1606 Ranunculus capensis.
- 743. u(lu)Gange, (1) according to Weintroub a plant with edible parts.
- 744. umGani, (1) according to Bryant the same as umGanu.
- 745. i(h)Ganu, (general) fruit of the umGanu tree: amaganu, beer, made in February from the ripe fruits of the umGanu tree.
- 746. umGanu, (general), Sclerocarya caffra Hochst. Name to be derived probably from gana, "the marriage tree." They used the bark as a blood-cleansing emetic before the marriage.

A medium sized tree in Natal bushveld, a giant tree in the North. Timber used for carving. Bark good for tanning. The seeds if

- crushed and cooked with mealies taste like Monkey nuts (NIN). In Tongaland very big, the king of the trees.
- 747. i(li)Gate (1) according to Mogg Berkeyd spec.
- 748. *uGatigati*, (1) according to Bryant mealies of a deep crimson colour, said to thrive, even where the *isona* is abundant.
- 749. in Gatshumba (1) according to Weintroub a plant with edible parts.
- 750. i(li)Gau, the same as i(li)Gawu.
- 751. in Gawe—Cassine spec.
- 752. i(li)Gawu (2), a young pumpkin, or vegetable marrow.
- 753. umGawuma, (2 W & S) Gossipium transvaalense. The seeds are edible.
- 754. uGazi (2) supposed to be a tree in Swaziland, used against fever.
- 755. i(li)Gazini (1) according to Mogg Rhynchosia spec.
- 756. in Gcacane, the same as i(li) Cacane, some Kniphofias of the swamps.
- 757. uGcagcambane, (1, NES) Crotolaria capensis Jacq.
- 758. umGcagcazane (1, NZ), Asparagus Sprengeri Regel, used as emetic.
- 759. i(li)Gcaki, (1) according to Bryant, White Natal mealies.
- 760. umGcalanci (1, NKA) a tree.
- 761. inGcandolo, (W & S) the same as uQadolo, Bidens pilosa L.
- 762. uGcangca, (general), Tecomaria capensis Spach. The wild red honeysuckle.
- 763. in Geangiyana, (general in Natal) root of Oxalis semiloba, Sond.
- 764. inGcaza (2, NMA) the same as imBhuya, a wild vegetable,
 Amarantus thunbergii Moquin.
- 765. i(li)Gceba (1) according to Bryant a single rush of a certain kind of marsh-grass used for mat-making. (inDuma).
- 766. inGceBa (1) according to Bryant the thick lower stalk of the wild banana leaf, which, when dry, is torn into thin strips for making the umNcwado.
- 767. isiGceba, (general) Wild banana-tree Streliztia augusta, whose leaf-stems are used as above and the leaves themselves used for carpeting damp corn-pits.
- 768. i(li)Gcegceya, (1, S & X) according to Schwaiger Cassinopsis capensis, Sond.
- 769. in Gcelwane, (1, S & X) according to Schwaiger Bulbine aloides, said to be an anti-syphilitic herb. (1) according to Watt Asparagus spec.—said to be anti-syphilitic.

- 770. isiGcence, (2) Heeria paniculosa (E.M.) O. Ktz., whose berries, mixed with umuThwa are used as amakha.
- 771. i(li)Gcibo, "to be derived probably from gciba, i.e. aim with a spear. We may therefore call it a spearleaf from the point of view of the long petiole etc. or the spearbush, yielding good shafts for spears," (general), Dombeya cymosa Harv., a tree of the bushveld, flowering like a cherry-tree.
- 772. inGciko, a climbing fern in the coast-swamp-bushes. (1 NZ).
- 773. inGcino, (general), Scilla rigidifolia Kunth. The large bulb of this Lily-plant contains a slimy substance used for glueing the assegai-blade into its wooden shaft and as purgative for children.
- 774. i(li)Gcobe (1) Phyllanthus spec.
- 775. inGcobosi, (2, NES), the same inCobosi, a grass.
- 776. uGcohiba (1), a thorny climber, its bulbs used as emetic.
- 777. inGcolo (general), (2, NES & S & X), the same as isiDakwa, Dioscorea dregeana, (1) Dioscorea dumentorum, (1) according to Bews the same as inGcino, Scilla rigidifolia Kth.
- 778. inGcolozi (2, NND, NNA), composite used as emetic prob., the same as uPhamephuce which is according to Watt Wedelia natalensis.
- 779. uGcugcuza, the same as uQadolo or Bidens pilosa L. a wild vegetable.
- 780. i(li)Gcukumuva according to O. B. Miller, Mesembrianthemum edule. (S & X).
- 781. *i(li)Gcuma* (general) *Xanthium spinosum L*. the thorny burrweed. Also sometimes used for *Xanthium natalense*, the Natal Burrweed which has no thorns.
- 782. i(li)Gcume, the same as i(li)Gcuma.
- 783. umGcunube (2, S & X) Salix capensis Thunb. the Cape-Willow.
- 784. *uGebela* (1, NMA) the same as *uGebeleweni*, used as emetic against chest complaints.
- 785. uGebeleweni, "Hanging on the precipice," (general), Rhipsalis cassytha Gaert., the epiphytic leafless wip-cactus, the only indigenous cactus of Africa. Sometimes also used for other "on the precipice growing plants" as Agapanthus umbellatus L'Herit, Delosperma velutinum, a creeping Mesembrianthemum, Begonia geranoides, etc., etc.
- 786. umGeba (2 S & X) Chilianthus arboreus A.DC., a tree of the bushveld.

- 787. i(li) Gejalibomvu (1), a tree in Nkandhla.
- 788. (ili) Gekle (general) the same as i(li) Gemfe or i(li) Venge, Crassula acinacifolia, the biggest of our herbaceous Crassulas; the stem is used as reed-pipe to smoke hemp.
- 789. i(li)Gela, the same as i(li)Gele.
- 790. *i(li)Gele*, (general) *Cyphia elata Harv*., a common plant whose bulbous roots are eaten.
- 791. uGelele (1, NES) said to be the same as uMazwenda.
- 792. umGemane (1) according to Bryant a kind of intsema, Euphorbia bupleurifolia.
- 793. i(li)Gemfe, the same as i(li)Gekle.
- 794. i(li)Genkle, (1, NUB) a plant, Herbar 886.
- 795. umGeqo (1) according to Bryant "any medicine used to clear out" (geqa) by purgatives.
- 796. inGevu (1) according to Mogg 7224, Testudinaria elephantipes Burch.
- 797. i(li)Gevuza (1) according to Bryant, a Mealie-cob with just forming small watery grains.
- 798. umGeya (1, probably S & X) Podocarpus latifolius (Thunb) R. Br.
- 799. *inGeza* (1) according to Bryant a certain herb, used as love charm medicine to make oneself nice and attractive.
- 800. umGezisa (3, probably S & X) Cussonia umbellifera Sond., a big cabbage tree of the forests, also (1) Cussonia natalensis.
- 801. isiGibampethu, see 802.
- 802. umGibampethu (general) Calpurnia lasiogyne and Calpurnia sylvatica, two trees of the forests and bushveld with flowers like the European golden shower, used for killing lice.
- 803. *i(li)Gibampondo* (1) according to Bews, Alberta magna E. M., an ornamental tree of our up-country mist-belt forests. Other more frequent names for it are: umCumane and i(li) Euthe (1) according to H. C. Lugg, Burchellia capensis R. Br.
- 804. isiGibamhlolo (1, NZ) a plant.
- 805. uGibisisila (general), Bowiea volubilis Harv., a leafless climbing plant with little green lily-flowers and a big green bulb, used as intelezi and emetic for love charm.
- 806. umGilane (2) according to Weintroub, Gnaphaleum luteoalbum.
- 807. i(li)Giligodwe (1, S & X) a plant.

- 808. um Gilindi (1, S & X) Rhamnus cathartica and Rhamnus princides, two shrubs.
- 809. iGinindela, a granadilla, Passiflora quadrangularics, edulis and cocerulea L.
- 810. isiGkali (, S & X) a plant.
- 811. uGobo (general) Gunnera perpensa L., a rhubarb-like big herb growing in swamps. The juicy stalk is edible. Mixed with isiDwa they are used for expelling the placenta in man and beast.
- 812. isiGoba, the same as isiGobo.
- 813. u(lu)Goba (1) according to Bews Digitaria diagonalis Stapf, a common grass in the Highveld.
- 814. uGobabahleke (1, NMA), a house medicine, i(li)khambi.
- 815. u(lu)Gobandlovu, more or less plants, the fruits of which are liked by elephants; (general) (NND, NO) Garcinia Livingstonii, a tree of the bushveld, said to be a tree believed to cause a fatal kidney-disease. (2) Secamone Gerrardi Harv. a climber (not a tree as Bryant states) of our forests (general, W & S & N & T) Balanites spec. according to O. B. Miller, (S & X) Pterocelastrus spp.
- 816. umGobandlu (1), a certain shrub, used as an emetic and to misa a chief.
- 817. umGobankosi (1) according to Weintroub 256 a plant with edible parts.
- 818. isiGobo (general, esp. in Natal), some thorny asparagus used for torches; e.g. Asparagus falcatus L., Asparagus africanus Asparagus Sprengeri, etc., etc.
- 819. i(li)Gobola (1) according to Mogg Thameda Foskalii, a grass.
- 820. uGobole (general, esp. in Natal) Asystasia Schimperi T. Anusually called imBobela, a nice vegetable.
- 821. i(li)Gode (1) according to Bryant a variety of sweet-potato, having a large leaf and bearing well. (i(li)Qandalenkuku).
- 822. uGodi (1, NUF) the same as uGodide.
- 823. uGodide, (general), Jatropha hirsuta Hochst, a herb used as intelezi against lightning and as enema in fevers.
- 824. uGodilide, the same as uGodide.
- 825. umGodweni (1, NES), an emetic of herbalists.
- 826. umGogi, (1), Herbalist's ikhubalo.
- 827 umGogi-wezinhlanya, the same as umGogu-wenhlanya.

- 828. umGogo, according to Mogg 1026, Eragrostis curvula, a grass.
- 829. umGogongo (1, NPN), the same as umQoqongo, Clerodendrum glubrum, a tree.
- 830. umGogu-wenhlanya (3) herbalist's name for uMazwenda omhlophe, =Popowia caffra Hk.f, used as emetic against iphupho.
- 831. umGogwane (2, NES, NZ) the same as umKwakwane, Gardenia Jovis tonantis, a shrub of the bushveld.
- 832. umGogwane omncane (1) the same as umKwakwane omncane, Randia rudis E.M., a shrub of the bushyeld.
- 833. umGologolo (1), said to be the red ivory, Rhamnus Zeyheri Sond., a royal timber-tree of the bushveld.
- 834. umGologothi (1) according to Bews the same as umGologolo.
- 835. *i(li)Golo-lembuzi* (1, NHL)—Pavetta lanceolata, a tree or shrub with little black berries. Hence the name.
- 836. *i(li)Golo-lenkawu* (3, NZ)=Sapindus oblongifolius Sond., an undershrub. "The fruits are compared with the dung of monkeys. Hence the name.
- 837. *i(li)Golo-lenkonyane* (general), Cissus connivens Lam., a vine, common all over in mistbelt area and along rivers, yielding oblong black berries. Hence the name.
- 838. isiGolwane (1), according to Bews Burchellia capensis R. Br., the wild pomegranate, a little shrub or tree.
- 839. uGom, Gumtree (S).
- 840. umGomba (1, NES, inyanga), Moraea spec., a wild tulip, root used as enema in dysentry.
- 841. umGomeni or umNgomeni (W & S), the Mung-Bean, Phaseolus mungo etc.
- 842. umGomisentaßeni (1)—Canthium ciliatum D. Dieter., a shrub.
- 843. i(li)Gomongo (1) Herbalist's medical plant used against hysteria.
- 844. inGondotha-mpete, (1, S & X) according to Watt Osyris abyssinica Hochst., a shrub very useful for tanning.
- 845. isiGondwane, the same as inGonswane, Ficus ingens, etc.
- 846. in Gongo (1) according to Watt, Cyanotis nodiflora Kunth.
- 847. inGongoni (general) grasses with spiked seeds which stick to the clothing e.g. Aristida junciformis Trin. and Rupr; Aristida angustata Stapf. Aristida barbicollis, Tricholaena setifolia Stapf, etc.

- 848. umGongozi (2) Mesembrianthemum edule L., used as enema for children.
- 849. umGonogono (2, S & X) Grumilea capensis Natke.
- 850. u(lu)Gonothi (general) Flagellaria guinensis Schumach., a canelike climber in the forests with tendrils on the top of the leaves. It is used for making hut-doors, etc.
- 851. i(li)Gonsilasehlathini (2) Dracaena hookeriana K. Koch.
- 852. inGons(w)ane (general) the rock-splitting fig trees like Ficus Sonderi, Ficus ingens, etc. The fruits are edible but small. The fibre is often used.
- 853. umGonswane (general) the rock-splitting fig trees like Ficus Sonderi, Ficus ingens, etc. The fruits are edible, fibre useful for binding.
- 854. *i(li)Gontsi* (general) a few herbs with edible roots, e.g. Cyphia elata and Ipomoea simplex.
- 855. umGosi (1, N & T) according to Stevenson Terminalia serisea Burch.
- 856. umGoswane, the same as umGontswune.
- 857. *i(li)Gotebuti* (1) according to Mogg 6325 *Hypochaeris radiata L.*, a Composite with yellow flowers.
- 858. in Gotsha (general), Sarcostemma viminale R. Br., a leafless creeper, frequent in bushveld. The unripe seed-pods are eaten and called ama Eelebele.
- 859. in Gozina (1) according to Watt, Pterocarpus angolensis DC., the Bleedwood (tree) or South African Teak.
- 860. uGqaba-maveni, a plant growing on precipices.
- 861. umGqabe (the correcter spelling is umNgqabe), Cryptocary acuminata & latifolia, and Encphalartos Altensteinii, trees growing often on rocks and precipices.
- 862. uGqabela (S & X) according to O. B. Miller the same as iGqabile.
- 863. i(h)Gqabile (S & X) according to O. B. Miller Trimeria grandifolia and Homalium subsuperum.
- 864. in Gqamlambo (1) according to Mogg 1641, Juncus dregeanus Kunth.
- 865. i(li)Gqange (1, S & X) according to Schwaiger, Buddleia salvifolia.
- 866. i(li)Gqangi elinameva (1, NZ) tree of Ongoye forest.
- 867. umGqangqu (1) according to Bews, Pleurostylia capensis Oliv., a tree of up country.
- 868 *i(li)Gqanse* (1) according to Bews, *Olea laurifolia Lam.*, the black Ironwood.

- 869. in Gaphunana (2) Scutia indica Brogn., the katdoorn, usually called uSondelangange.
- 870. inGqaqabulani (general) Smilax Kraussiana Meissn., a creeper with curbed thorns, growing in woods; used for making hut doors.
- 871. in Gasundu (2, NMA), the fruit of the wild date-palm, i(li) Sundu.
- 872. i(li) Gqebe elimhlophe (general) Tarchonanthus camphoratus L., the Camphor bush, a hard, ant-proof timber. Stands as fence post for thirty years. Leaves in very dry winter eaten by cattle. The heathen women fill with the strongly smelling leaves their top-knots,
- 873. i(ii) Gqeba elimnyama (general) Brachylaena elilptica Less., yields very good sticks and durable fence posts similar to i(li) Gqeba elimhlophe.
- 874. i(li)Gqeba lamatshe (2 NND) Tarchonanthus trilobus var. simplicifolius, a little tree of the Protea veld and similar habitat with big woolly leaves.
- 875. in Gqeqebula (1) according to Bryant a certain creeping plant, probably the same as in Gqagqabulani.
- 876. i(li) Gqilamntwana, "The navel of a child," (2, NMA) fruits and shrub of Pachystigma latifolia Sond.
- 877. i(li) Gqitha (2, S & X) Monsonia obovata Cav., used against dysentry.
- 878. umGqoqqo (general) Pappea capensis E. & Z. the Berg Pruim, a tree of the bushveld, having two different kinds of leaves, such with serrated margin and entire one. Fruits are edible and nice like cherries. Medicinally used for calves.
- 879. umGqongqongo (2, NMA, ND) the same as umQaqongo, Clerodend-ron glabrum E. M., a tree of smelling leaves.
- 880. um Gqonci (general, S & X) Trichocladus ellipticus, undershrub.
- 881. inGqondo (1) the middle rib of a palmetto leaf, which is bunched together to form the rope-like frame of a man's head ring.
- 882. i(li) Gqubulenja (1) according to Mogg 1663, Euriops spec., a Composite—Herb.
- 883. in Gqulwane (2), common kind of river reed, used for hut building.
- 884. isiGqumana (1, X) Vellosia clavata Baker, a lily.
- 885. uGqumqqum, (general), Physalis peruviana L., the Cape Gooseberry. Leaves are used as enema for children.

- 886. inGqumza (general S & X) according to Schwaiger, Scolopia Mundtii Warb.
- 887. inGqunda, "The Blunter, because it is used as preventive medicine to blunt the witches' deeds;" (general), the same as inDlolothi, Moraea spathacea Ker. etc.
- 888. in Gqungqumbe (1, NMA) a Papilionate, small herb, the roots of which are eaten.
- 889. isiGqunsa (1, S & X) according to Schwaiger, Helcihrysum pedunculare.
- 890. in Gquza yenkonyane (general) Cissus connivens, etc., or i(li)golo lenkonyane. The ripe berries ovoid black. Hence the name "anus vituli." Bulbous root used medicinally against colic of cattle.
- 891. umGqwabagqwaba (general) Erythrina latissima, a tree of the transition of bushveld to mistbelt area. Usually growing on hills. (2, NZ) Ficus Nekbudu warb., a fig tree with broad leaves.
- 892. i(li) Gqwaka (1, S & X) Bushman's tea, Printzia pyrifolia Less.
- 893. in Gqwangane (general) "The ringleader of the naughty herdboys."
 Name for a group of Gymnoporias with horrible long spikes. Cf.
 in Gqwangane yehlathi and in Gqwangane yehlanze.
- 894. in Gqwangane yehlanze (general), Gymnosporia buxifolia.
- 895. in Gqwangane yehlathi (general), Gymnosporia Harveyana, etc.
- 896. umGqwashu (1) according to Bews, Sideroxylon inerme L., the white milkwood, called usually in the bushveld umHlahle.
- 897. amaGreindeni, (general), Grenudillas.
- 898. ama Grepisi, (general), Grapes.
- 899. umGubasiswana, (1, NMA), Ipomoea albivenia.
- 900. in Gubivumile (2) Phytolucca heptandra Retz, used against u(lu) Jovela.
- 901. umGubu (4) a grass used for making ropes. According to Mogg 621, Eragrostis curvula. Rees.
- 902, isiGude (2) Strelitzia augusta Thb., usually called inGceba.
- 903. i(li) Gudebuthi (1) according to Mogg 5027, Sonchus dregeanus.
- 904. isiGudi, the same as isiGude.
- 905. umGudlanguluße (3) a tree yielding good sticks. (2, NES) Rawsonia lucida.
- 906. in Gudlu (1) according to Mogg 6988, Gnaphalium spec.

- 907. uGudluthukela "Move along the Tukela," (general), Xanthium natalense (2, NES), also used for Argemone mexicana L.
- 908. i(li)Gudu (1) according to Bryant a certain veld-herb resembling the inKomfe, but having a much larger bulbous root. The root of the iGudu is sometimes stuffed into a hole which a snake has been seen to enter. The reptile on seeking to come out bites at the bulb, with the result that its teeth remain fixed therein, and there it dies. The plant like the inKomfe is probably poisonous and is a kind of Hypoxis.
- 909. inGuduza (general) Scilla natalensis Planch., a blue flowering lily used as imbiza (purgative).
- 910. uGuga (2) probably Orygia decumbens, used as emetic. (1, NUK) Polygonum spec.
- 911. umGugudo (general) Pseudocassine transvaalensis, also called inGwavuma. Bark used as stomachic.
- 912. uGuguvama (1) according to Watt, Lantanea salvifolia Jacq., a shrub with edible berries.
- 913. uGuka (2) Rhamphocarpa tubulosa Benth., used as a love charm emetic, a herb growing in swamps.
- 914. *i(li)Gukwa* (1) according to Mogg *Sopubia spec*. a herb and relation of the former.
- 915. inGulamlomo (1) herbalist's medicine plant, used as insizi against hysteria.
- 916. inGulathi (1) Lily plant similar to Hypoxis. Said to stop diarrhoea of calves.
- 917. *i(li)Guleni* (general) *Bowiea volubilis Harv.*, herbalist's name for the more common *uGibisisila*; a leafless climber with little green lily-flowers.
- 918. i(li)Gulomnumzane (2, NES), a plant.
- 919. umGulufu (1, NES), Clivia nobilis Ldl., used as intelezi yezulu.
- 92(). umGulugulu, the same as umGuluguza, Strychnos Gerrardi, a tree of the forests.
- 921. umGulugunqa, the same as umGuluguza.
- 922. umGuluguza (general) Strychnos Gerrardi N. E. Br., a big tree growing in closed bush, with fruits which, if ripe, are orange coloured and with a hard shell like i(h)Hlala, but only of the size of a peach. Very good timber.

- 923. inGumane (1) according to Bryant a blight attacking mealies and amaßele.
- 924. i(li)Gumence (general, W & S). Rubus pinnatus Willd., the forest bramble.
- 925. uGumtilini, any Gumtree.
- 926. umGuna (1, W & S) according to Burtt-Davy Curtisia faginea.

 Ait., a tree of the forests.
- 927. umGu(ngu)lutane (1, W & S) according to Weintroub the same as umGunguluzane.
- 928. umGunguluza (1, NZ) Drypetes natalensis Hutchju, a tree with fruits like peaches on the big stem, and rigidly coriaceous leaves which have a sharply-dendate margin. The flowers have a fetid scent.
- 929. umGunguluzane (1, NES) Salacia alternifolia Hochst. (1, W & S) Cassine Schlechteri, two shrubs.
- 930. in Gungwa (1, NES), Smilax Kraussiana Meissn., a hooky climber in every forest.
- 931. in Gungwini (1, NZ), a love charm emetic.
- 932. umGunjanyama (1) according to Mogg 6606, a Composite herb.
- 933. amaGununuza (1, NMA) an edible fruit.
- 934. umGunya (general), a plant (my eight records are all different!)
 "Giving strength."
- 935. uGupu, the same as isi Denda, Maesa refuscens, etc., a shrub.
- 936. i(li) Guqa (1, NHL), a bush of Wome forest, yielding good sticks.
- 937. uGuqu, Herbalist's name for the isiDenda shrub, Maesa alnifolia Harv., the roots of which are used as emetic for love charm. Cf. uMaguqu. Derived from guqu, "to turn, change in this case one's heart."
- 938. uGuqukile (2, S & X) according to Watt Hibiscus pusillus Thunb., a herb.
- 939. i(li) Gusha (3, NMA & NIN) Corchorus serrae folius Burch, a herb. (2) According to Weintroub Corchorus tridens, a herb and vegetable.
- 940. i(li) Gutibuti (1) according to Mogg 6997, Hierarcium capense, a herb.
- 941. i(li)Guzu (1) according to Weintroub Physalis peruviana L., the Cape Gooseberry.

- 942. *i(li)Guzumbela* (1) probably *Physalis peruviana L*. the Cape gooseberry.
- 943. ul(u)Gwaba, the same as u(lu)Gwapa, the climber, Riocreuxia torulosa var. tomentosa, a wild vegetable, imimfino.
- 944. i(li) Gwabisi (general), guava., Psidium guayava.
- 945. i(li) Gwacibe (1) according to Mogg 1523, Moraea spathacea, a yellow flowering tulip.
- 946. uGwadigwadi, a kind of red maize.
- 947. uGwahlangwahla (3, NES & NXZ) wild Canna, garden escape.
- 948. umGwalana, the same as inGwalane.
- 949. inGwalane, the same as uNgwaleni, Cluytia pulchella L. etc., a little shrub.
- 950. umGwalane, (1, NUF) the same as inGwalane.
- 951. i(li) Gwalaza (1) a love charm emetic, Scabiosa columberia L.
- 952. umGwali "from the Hottentot word Gwarri" (general S & X)
 Euclea lanceolata E. Mey., a strong purgative.
- 953. inGwamashela (1, NES) herbalist's medical plant, used as emetic.
- 954. isiGwamba (1, S & X) according to Mogg 1618, Solanum villosum, a shrub.
- 955. isiGwane sehlathi (general S & X) Rapanea melanophloeos (L) Mez., the Cape Beech.
- 956. isiGwanda (1) Curtisia faginea Ait., a tree.
- 957. *i(li)Gwanini* (1, S & X), a plant of which there are two kinds, a red and a white one.
- 958. uGwanothi (2), the same as u(lu)Gonothi, Flagellaria guineensis Schumach., a forest climber with grass-like leaves.
- 959. i(li)Gwanxi (general, S & X), Olea laurifolia, the black Ironwood.
- 960. u(lu)Gwapa (general, esp. NES & NZ) Riocreuxia torulosa var. tomentosa N. E. Br., an asclepsiadaceous creeper in mistbelt area, much appreciated as vegetable, imimfimo.
- 961. umGwaqu (1, S & X) according to Schwaiger, Lachnopylis floribunda Bth., a tree of the forest.
- 962. uGwashu (2) a plant.
- 963. umGwati (1, probably S & X) according to Sim, Euclea undulata E.M.

- 964. inGwavuma (general) Pseudocassine transvaalensis Bredell, a tree of the bushveld, the bark is sold by every herbalist for emetic and enema. Said to be an excellent medicine to stop stomach trouble.

 (1) Watt gives for inGwavuma = Gymnosporia buxifolia Szysz., which naming I never found in Zululand. Probably a mistake.
- 965. in Gwavuma yehlathi (1) a tree in Ngome bush.
- 966 uGwayana (4) probably (1, NP) Solanum auriculatum, a plant used as emetic. This little tree has tobacco-like leaves. Hence the name.
- 967. i(li)Gwayi (1) herbalist's medical plant, used as emetic.
- 968. *uGwayi* (general) *Nicotiana tabacum*, *Virginia tabaco* & *Nicotiana rustica*, cigarette tobacco, i.e. all kind of tobacco and snuff.
- 969. uGwayi-kaKholo, the same as uGwayi-kaNhloyile.
- 970. *uGwayi kaNhloyile*, (general)=Puff-balls, *Lycoperdineae*, a tribe of mushrooms, filled with a powder of black spores and bursting if ripe.
- 971. uGwayi-kaThekwane, (2, NQ), the same as uGwayi-kaNhloyile.
- 972. i(li)Gwayilazo, the same as i(li)Gwalaza.
- 973. i(li)Gwayintombi (1, S & X) a medicinal plant.
- 974. uGwayi womfula (1, NND)—Nicotiana glauca R. Graham, sometimes a common weed.
- 975. uGwebelesa (1), a medicinal plant.
- 976. inGweb' enkulu, "the great foam," (3, NHL) Albizzia spec. (n?). The bark is used against fever, but it makes a very strong enema. Only a cupful should be used.
- 977. ubuGwebezane (1), uncommon spelling for ubuKhwebezane, Lantana salvifolia Jacq., a shrub with edible berries.
- 978. uGwegenkle (1, W & S) a Composite.
- 979. u(lu)Gweje (2) "The red flower," (1) according to Bryant the same as $i(li)Beja = Graderia\ scabra$, a bright purplish pink and very conspicuous flower. (1, NZ) Used as love charm emetic.
- 980. i(li) Gwele (1, S & X) Anacampseros ustulata E. Mey. a little succulent Rock-plant with nice pink flowers.
- 981. *uGwengce* (1) according to Bryant a shrub, whose bulbous root is eaten.
- 982. u(lu)Gwengu (1, NES) Tephrosia macropoda Harv., more commonly called u(lu)Qwengu or i(li)Lozane, an herbaceous creeper.

- 983. i(li) Gwenya (general), fruit of the um Gwenya-tree.
- 984. umGwenya, (general), Harpephyllum caffrum Bernh., the Kafir-Plum, a huge forest tree, yielding plumlike drupes of scarlet colour and very sour taste. (NIN) Garcinia livingstonei with sweet plum-like fruits.
- 985. umGwenyahlungula (2) Shrebera saundersiae Harv., a bushveld tree of the olive-family.
- 986. umGwenya wezinja (S & X general) Eckebergia capensis Sparm., commonly called umNyamathi, a big tree of bushveld and forests, the "Dog's plum."
- 987. umGwenye (general), the same as umGwenya.
- 988. inGwevu (general) some Dioscoraceae like Testudinaria elephantipes Burch. and Dioscorea sylvatica Kunth. Their hollow stems are used for umTshumo, i.e. the tube used for passing spittle through, when hemp is smoked.
- 989. um Gwibi (1, NPN) a Composite.
- 990. umGwili (1) according to Bryant a kind of edible gourd (i(li)selwa) of hard nature that doesn't really soften and match in the cooking.
- 991. umGwiligwili (3, NMA) Ipomoea albivenia Sweet, a shrub with cottenlike fruits, the big bulbous roots of which are eaten by Natives in famine time.
- 992. umGwinya (general) Chrysophyllum viridifolium Sim., a huge tree of forests, bearing yellow fruits like little apples, which are edible but full of latex. Very good timber.
- 993. umGxama, the same as umGxamu.
- 994. umGxamu (general) Schotia latifolia, brachypetala Sond. and schotia transvaalensis Rotfe. Bos-Boer-Boen., good timber for yokes of oxen. The bark contains a red dye.
- 995. isiGxanyana (1, NUF) Sxhotia transvaalensis, a little tree of the bushveld.
- 996. *u(lu)Gxawu*, labiate shrub (1 near Tabor Mission NHL) Gerstner 836.
- 997. i(li)Gxeba cf. i(li)Gqeba, a little tree of the bushveld.
- 998. uGxila (1, NZ) the same as uGxiya, a shrub or little tree.
- 999. umGxina (1) Curtisia faginea Ait., a tree.
- 1000. uGxiya (1, NZ) Eugenia capensis Harv., a shrub or little tree with edible berries.

- 1001. i(li)Gxolo (1) according to Bews, Trichilia emetica Vahl., a tree called generally umkhuhlu.
- 1002. umGxube (1) according to Weintroub, a medicinal plant of the Fingoes.
- 1003. umGxwala (1) Aloe Bainesii Dyer, a fine ornamental tree 20-30 ft. and multibranched, occurs on the transition area from mistbelt to bushveld.

SOME BANTU RECIPES FROM THE EASTERN CAPE PROVINCE

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The following recipes are for some of the more common dishes eaten by the Xhosa, Thembu, Mpondo and Sotho peoples living in the Ciskei, Transkei and the Southern borders of Basutoland. They are used principally by the "Red," or less civilized families, though also to a considerable extent by the "Dressed," or more civilized.

The extent to which the Bantu people are content with a monotonous diet is often the subject of comment by Europeans. Although their resources are admittedly very limited, it will be seen that they have devised quite a fair number of ways in which the staple foodstuffs can be prepared and some of these dishes are by no means to be despised. How frequently these recipes are made use of in daily practice we are unable to say, though generally they were well known to those with whom we consulted; presumably, as elsewhere, much would depend upon the skill, energy and leisure of the women. The very simplicity of their food probably tends to sharpen the palate, enabling it to detect differences which would pass unnoticed by those accustomed to more highly flavoured dishes; indeed, we were assured by one Native that "every different way you cook a mealie you get a somewhat different flavour out of it, in fact we say that it tastes like a different grain."

There can be no doubt that these food customs are undergoing considerable changes and in some districts these changes are proceeding fairly rapidly. Unfortunately the general direction taken is not likely to lead to an improvement of the health of the inhabitants. Underlying these changes and most serious of all is the steady decrease in the amount of available milk, which cuts at the whole basis of the diet as it was in the past. Other unsatisfactory features are the tendency to despise the excellent wild spinaches so justly prized by the less sophisticated, the use of machine ground and sometimes highly refined mealie meal in place of the home-made whole-meal product, and the introduction of tea and sugar.

We are much indebted to the several friends, both European and Native, who supplied us with these recipes and who have revised and supplemented the original notes. Needless to say they are by no means exhaustive, but it is hoped that they may serve to stimulate others to collect more detailed information in the different areas, before the traditional methods have been displaced by the inroads of Western civilization. Some account of the customs associated with the preparation and consumption of food by the Mpondo is to be found in Monica Hunter's Reaction to Conquest. (1936).

CEREALS

Ibaqolo, Ibangqa; Sotho: Lepotho. (Green mealies).

Green mealies are boiled and eaten whilst still on the cob; of recent years, owing to the shortage of grain, there has been an increasing tendency to make use of the green mealie, although it is recognized to be somewhat wasteful. The better the housewife the smaller and more insignificant looking the cobs picked for cooking; in any case they are never eaten until the grains are quite firm.

Green mealies on the cob are also roasted; for this purpose the yellow mealie is preferred, whilst the white is generally preferred for other purposes.

Isigezenga. (Green mealie bread).

Green mealies are ground into a soft paste, just as they are, or occasionally with the addition of a little salt; the paste is then moulded into cakes, wrapped in green mealie leaves and steamed in an iron pot. To do this a few cobs are placed in the pot with a little water and the cakes resting on the cobs are then steamed until ready, water being added from time to time as required.

Ingixi; Sotho: Motoho oa Poone e ncha. (Green sap porridge).

The young green mealie stalks are pounded up and then boiled in water; the fibrous material is strained off through a grass sieve and the liquid is mixed with ground green mealies until a thick paste is obtained; this is again boiled and eaten as a soft paste; it is considered a dainty dish.

Inkobe; Sotho: Likhobe. (Boiled whole mealies).

Mealies, especially white mealies, are simply placed in water and boiled until tender. They are well chewed and do not appear to cause digestive disturbances in adults if properly cooked, even when eaten in large quantities; however, they are a frequent cause of trouble with children. This dish is used both by "Red" and "Dressed" Natives, but, as might be expected, is considered rather beneath the dignity of the wealthier class; it is also useful to take on a journey, as umphako (q.v.).

"A stranger driven by hunger to ask for food at the nearest kraal always expects to get *inkobe*. It is regarded as one of the best kinds of food for two reasons: it cleans and beautifies a person's teeth; more than that it is known to give strength and energy to those who are on a journey and those engaged on a certain work. Besides it saves time for those mothers who have the care of big families, for the boiled mealies are ever ready." (Thembu Native).

Ugcado, Incatsha: Sotho: Sebera (? Sebena). (Toasted mealies).

Fully ripe whole mealies, either dry, or after softening by soaking in water, are toasted in a cooking pot, or conveniently on the lid; this is done over an open fire and until nice and brown; the grain may swell up and burst like ordinary popcorn, though this is not considered essential; it is eaten hot and is especially favoured as a breakfast dish. "A delicious food for young people who have strong teeth." (Thembu Native).

Utshongo; Sotho: Lipabi.

Toasted mealies, prepared as above, may also be ground into meal; a little salt or sugar is then added and the mixture brought to the consistency of snuff by being very slightly moistened with water; (the water is added because otherwise the fine dusty nature of the meal is apt to be irritating). This preparation has an attractive nutty flavour and is much liked both by "Reds" and "Dressed" Natives. As it neither gets dry, nor sour, it is a popular food for taking on a journey (umphako), "for it is light to carry and when eaten and followed by a drink of water it swells and creates a pleasant sense of satisfaction." (Ashton: Sotho Diet). It does not become stale and will last for six months or more. It was used extensively during the Sotho wars.

Curiously enough this fine meal is also thought helpful in the prevention of umtshetsha (Scurvy); so much so that Native boys going to the mines may take large quantities with them of umtshongo as it is termed. "Wise boys will not forget to carry this stuff with them." (Thembu Native).

Umphothulo; Sotho: Mopotula. (Boiled whole mealics and milk).

Mealies are boiled as above; when just cooked the product is ground on the stone and is mixed with amasi. Used both by "Red" and "Dressed" Natives and very popular, especially with old people who appreciate its softness.

Umcuku.

Umphothulo may also be soaked in amarewu till it ferments, when it is ready to eat.

Umxhaxha.

Whole mealies (also *inkobe*, or green mealies) and pumpkin are boiled together and stirred into a thick paste. In Kaffraria melon is frequently used instead of pumpkin.

Idubayi, Isopu, Umqhafusiyeko, (?Umqhafunyeko). (Mealies and beans).

Mealies, green or dry, are boiled together with beans. On special occasions, e.g. when making a feast for friends helping at harvest time, the proportion of beans may be as much as one third, usually it would be slightly less, say from one-quarter to one-third. Stamped mealies and beans are known as *Umqhusho*.

A Fingo recipe is as follows: Boil beans until tender and add dry mealie meal, stir very thoroughly together, add salt. It may be very stiff and in eating "is daintily broken off in pieces with the fingers." This dish is termed *Iguluda* by the Mpondo.

Another plan is to boil whole mealies and beans together in a large quantity of water for six hours, the water being renewed when necessary to ensure that there shall be plenty when served.

Ihasa, Irasa or Isangcozi.

This is the name given to fermented whole grains of mealies which have adhered to the sides of the pits in which grain is commonly stored. It is particularly relished by the older "Red" women of the kraal; it may be made into a fairly thin strained gruel, or eaten as a stiff porridge. Melon is frequently cooked with it.

Umgubo. (Ground mealies, mealie meal).

The mealie is ground on a large flat stone by means of a small stone rolled over it. This is one of the favourite ways of treating the grain, but it is a slow process and requires a good deal of practice to perform properly. Grinding is said to bring out the full flavour of the grain. Now-a-days machine-ground mealie meal of uncertain age is being more and more used. The true "Red," however, will have none of it, because it tastes "flat" or "like iron machinery." Lazy women are said to patronize it most, though the men say "we buy it to give the women a rest from grinding." Undoubtedly the freshly ground home-made product is to be preferred, particularly since the commercial meals often contain little of the original germ. The more civilized the Native the more he prefers the finely ground, whiter, "highly refined," i.e. more completely degerminated, meal.

If the mealies are taken to the local mill to be ground only the husks are removed and are usually returned to the customer; they may be used, when mixed with more mealies, as a food for horses. However, as we were bluntly told "when you grind mealies on the stone there are no husks." The poorest people realize that well-ground mealie meal goes further than *inkobe*, and one may assume that it is better absorbed.

There are several kinds of porridge:-

Umnga; umga; Sotho: Motoho.

This is plain or "hard" porridge and usually contains a little salt; used by "Reds" and "Dressed" alike, especially for breakfast. "It lasts long in the stomach." (Thembu Native).

Isidudu; Sotho: Lesheleshele.

This is a thinner variety, which is also made from kafir-corn; mostly used by invalids, nursing mothers and young children when milk is not available; it may be sweetened with sugar.

Inembe.

Mealies are boiled, but taken out of the water before being properly cooked. The cook then grinds the mealies as finely as possible and makes a light porridge with the meal which is given to infants. When milk is scarce this may constitute their chief or even their only source of nourishment.

Incwancwa, Imbila; Sotho: Motoho o Bolila. (Sour porridge).

This is chiefly used by "Dressed" Natives. Mealie meal is mixed with boiling water, allowed to stand overnight, or until fermented, and then cooked into a stiff porridge.

Uphutho, Umphokoqo; Sotho: Lefahlana. (Crumb porridge or "Brose.")

Boil water in a pot and add a little salt; when ready pour on plenty of dry mealie meal, but do not stir in; cover with a lid and inspect from time to time; when each particle has nicely swelled up the whole may be stirred and the mixture steamed again. When ready to be eaten it must be in a fairly dry crumbly state. Popularly used with amasi.

Umqa wethanga; Sotho: Motoho oa mokopu. (Pumpkin porridge).

Pumpkin (ithanga) is peeled by scraping with a spoon (a knife should not be used), the seeds are removed and the pumpkin boiled until tender. Mealie meal is then placed on the top of the water and allowed to "steam" for half an hour or more, the mixture stirred and so converted into a stiff

porridge. During the late summer and winter months this is a favourite dish.

Amaqebengwana, Umkhupha; Sotho: Bohobe. (Mealie bread).

Hot water is poured on to mealie meal, and the mixture is then re-ground; some salt is added, the older the mealie meal the more salt will be required. The paste is moulded into loaves and cooked by steaming in a pot with a little water in it, which is carefully replenished as required. Prepared in this way the loaf forms a kind of crust on the outside, which should not become too brown if properly cooked. Although these loaves are rather dry they are very much liked by "Red" Natives, especially for *umphako*. (q.v.). Less used by the Xhosa.

A somewhat less dry and solid type can be prepared if the mixture of meal and hot water is allowed to stand for about eight hours until each particle of meal has had time to swell considerably before grinding is commenced.

Umgqusho, Umqhusho, Ikaliko; Sotho: Stempo. (Stamped mealies).

The practice of pounding whole mealies by means of a wooden pestle in a wooden mortar is of comparatively recent origin in the Territories. Natives are often very definite about this though very vague as to its origin, which presumably was from the East Coast. Stone mortars and stone pestles are also used and the stone mortar may be a communal one. Stamped mealies are very popular amongst the Xhosa, but less so in Pondoland, where grinding remains the standard method. It is much quicker than grinding. During stamping the fibrous coating of the grain is removed and this together with any powdered germ is then winnowed away by repeatedly pouring stamped grain from one basket to another in the wind. Although the mealie is split, much of the germ still remains, whilst the winnowings are given to pigs and horses. stamped grain is finally washed and when ready for use is practically equivalent to machine-made samp. It is boiled until soft. "This dish is usually prepared for supper, when some of it is often left over for breakfast; seldom will one get it during noon." (Thembu Native). Stamped mealies may also be cooked with beans and peas.

Isonka-sombona. (Bread made from stamped mealies).

The stamped mealies are soaked all day in hot water, then ground and made into bread in the usual way. This is much easier than making flour by grinding whole mealies.

As "Red" people correctly point out there is a good deal of waste when mealies are stamped,

Umvu60, Ivu6a; Sotho: Moputsoila.

Kafir-corn, mealies, or stamped mealies are parboiled, if necessary crushed on a stone and then *amasi* poured over the product.

Amabele. (Kafir-corn).

Kafir-corn is ground and the meal used to make porridge or bread to some extent, but is chiefly used malted in the preparation of kafir beer.

Iduva.

Kafir-corn and beans boiled together. This is known as uphethwana by the Mpondo.

VEGETABLES

Imfino, Ilaxa; Sotho: Morogo. (Wild spinach).

Elsewhere (Levy, Weintroub and Fox, 1936) we have reported on the wide variety of plants whose leaves and shoots are eaten by the Bantu people. Naturally the actual kinds employed depend upon the district. Amongst the more commonly used in the Eastern Cape are Isiqwashumba (Sisymbrium capense), Unongotyozana (Hydrocotyle asiatica), Imbuya (Amaranthus paniculatus and other species), Imitwane (Pumpkin tips or laterals), Iguzu (Cape gooseberry, Physalis peruviana), Imbikicane (Chenopodium album), Irwaße (Sonchus oleraceus), Umsoßo (Solanum nigrum), Cwetekazi (Aizoon glinoides), Unondlomboyi (Amaranthus paniculatus), Umhlaßangußo (Bidens pilosa), Ußußazi (Urtica urens) and the tender tips of potato plants. These leaves are a very rich source of vitamins A and C as well as mineral salts, particularly calcium.

The leaves may be cooked in boiling water until tender and eaten alone or with porridge. This dish is quickly prepared and is especially favoured by women when returning from work in the fields. Alternatively dry meal may be stirred into the pot until a stiff porridge is obtained; this is then cooked again for a short time before being eaten. At this stage a few fresh leaves may again be added. Leaves cooked with meal is termed *Isigqwampa*, *Isigibane*, *Umgubela*.

A peculiarity about *imfino* is that it is seldom taken by the men or older boys, who regard it as a most effeminate food. Custom varies considerably from tribe to tribe; thus the Sotho are not very particular about it, whilst the Xhosa are. Mpondo men may eat the boiled greens and occasionally do so, but it is taboo for them to touch the more popular *Isigqwampa*. (Hunter).

The leaves are also gathered and stored for use in winter. Here again two methods are employed. Either the leaves are dried in the sun and then stored in sacks, or they may first be cooked and pressed into small cakes, which are then dried in the sun and stored. Needless to say the former method preserves more of the original food value.

Ithanga; Sotho: Mokopu. (Pumpkin).

Pumpkins are universally grown and much appreciated. At least three kinds are distinguished:—

Ithanga, with bright yellow flesh, used for cooking with whole mealies, mealie meal, etc.

Usenza, with a harder outer coat and not so yellow; usually cut into quarters and cooked by itself.

Iselwa, is the one used for making calabashes; not eaten except when very young.

Amaceba, Inxotha.

Pumpkins (unpeeled) are cut into squares or triangles and boiled alone or with beans, or baked until tender. Both sugar and salt may be added.

Ugwadugwadu or Ugwagwadu

This is the term for pumpkin, melon or peach after it has been dried in the sun on the thatch of the hut. When required it is soaked in water and cooked in the usual manner.

Imfe. Sweet reed.

The stems of this plant are chewed for their sweet juice. It is grown in the lands together with the kafir-corn or mealies.

Isicakadi.

This is perhaps more of a medicine than a food. It is made from various plants found near river beds; the plants are put into a tin with cold water, after soaking for a time some of the water is strained off and given to infants. It is always warmed before given and is believed to stimulate the baby's appetite and assist growth.

MILK

Ubisi, Intusi. (Fresh milk).

This is not much favoured, but if used is drunk unboiled.

Amasi, Umnqumshelo, Imvaba (=a gourd). (Sour milk).

The warm milk is poured straight from the milking into a calabash already containing a little amasi. A common sight at midday at the kraals, whilst milking is proceeding, is an array of calabashes waiting in the sun to be filled; amongst these is the baby's own small gourd, encased in a cord-carrying attachment for the mother to take on her journeys. The amasi will be ready for use in about two to three hours according to the weather, and the amount of amasi originally there.

Amasi may be prepared in a stone jar, but this does not impart the same flavour. It takes quite a time for the calabash to become "seasoned," but when once in order it can be used for years; it should be washed out every two weeks or once a month, but not too often. If whey separates it is drunk as intloya, especially in hot weather to quench thirst, whilst the hard curd is termed ingqaka. If the product is too sour it is mixed with fresh milk. To separate the fat intentionally is wasteful, but it may be used if it separates accidentally; cheese is unknown. (cf. Sotho, who separate butter to make soap, or to grease the body).

"Natives, though not an overclean race, are particular about the milking. Milk cans, etc., are always washed, as are the hands of the milker before milking, and as the milk is poured into the calabash right away it is not exposed to flies and dirt, whereas their cooking pots are not washed every time before cooking, and are often used quite a few times before it is considered necessary to wash them." (Hunter).

The Sotho use clay pots which are said to impart a better flavour than calabashes.

Isithubi; Sotho: Khatalle, Lehala. Or milk gruel.

A very delicate and tasty gruel made from fresh milk just over the colostrum stage chiefly given to children. Kafir-corn meal is stirred into the milk just as it reaches boiling point; it is then allowed to cook slowly with constant stirring till ready. Used by "Dressed" Natives. If milk is scarce it may be mixed with the water strained from cooked stamped mealies, or the juice of a pumpkin (ithanga) or another kind known as Umxoxozi, is poured into the calabash. "Such will keep the children going for a long time. The milk is increased by the addition of this juice."

Umkuku; Amarewu or Ivanga.

The liquor obtained from the second sifting of beer may be mixed with *inkobe*, *umnqusho* or *umphothulo* and used by those who are short of milk.

BEVERAGES, ETC.

Utywala. Kafir beer.

Although many minor modifications are met with the methods employed are substantially the same as those used by other Bantu tribes (see for example Fox, 1938). Only the Sotho appear to prepare the drink known as *Leting*.

Amarewu, (or Light beer).

Soak crushed mealies in warm water until soft, again grind and make into a thin gruel. When quite cooked, cool and place in a clay pot; add two to three ounces of flour or malted kafir-corn mixed to a paste with cold water; this acts as a leaven. Place in a warm place until it froths. This drink is not strained, but used as soon as a nice white froth appears on the top. To this amount of leavening about a one gallon billy can of mealies would be taken. A very refreshing, nourishing and non-intoxicating drink; used chiefly by "Dressed" Natives, especially Christians and by those "Reds" who do not care for kafir beer, or who find it does not suit them.

Umphakho. (Foods used for a journey).

Utshongo is a favourite for this purpose; also Ibangqa or boiled green mealies, and Amaqebengwana, which is very popular.

Use of salt.

The Mpondo at any rate do not appear to be very fond of salt, though there are fairly well-marked individual exceptions. Traders say that they do not seil nearly so much per family as would be used by Europeans, e.g. a cupful might be expected to last a family for two weeks, though more would be used when vegetables are scarce. Salt is seldom or never added to a dish at a meal and the cook would be guided in the amount she used by the taste of the head of the kraal.

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BOOK REVIEWS

The Native Council System with special reference to the Transvaal Local Councils. By Abraham J. van Lille. J. H. de Bussy, Pretoria. Pp. xx, 149. 4s. 6d.

The claim has been made that South Africa's principal contribution to the evolution of a satisfactory form of administration for the modern African community is the local or district council. The activities of the Transkeian Territories General Council, in particular, have been described as an example of what can be achieved under a system of direct rule when the African participates in the work of local government. But there are also critics, who maintain that the councils do not command the support of the people, largely because the members are not given scope to develop initiative and acquire experience in the art of self-government through the discharge of responsible executive functions, as is the case in territories where the principles of indirect rule apply.

On these points, and on the general working of the councils, little information has been made available, although the first councils were set up as far back as 1895. Brief references in one or two of the more recent anthropological works, such as Dr. Hunter's book on the Pondo, have indicated that there are weaknesses as well as merits, and that an inquiry would be of value in defining them and pointing out lines of further development. Mr. van Lille has now rendered a service, in producing the first study in this field, and the importance of his subject justifies a closer examination of the problems he has raised or omitted, than is usual in book reviews.

In the first chapter he traces the stages in the growth of the council system, and the main features of the administration in reserved areas. The summary is useful, though, being based on secondary sources, it does not contain new material. On some points more information should have been given. In the section on the Boards of Management found in certain mission and communal reserves in the Cape, for instance, it is not made clear that all but two of the reserves are inhabited by Coloured people and not by Natives. The statement that a general council has been established for the mission reserves of Natal seems to be wrong; the proclamation referred to was a draft proclamation, and according to the latest report of the Native Affairs Department, Natal has only one local council, that for Msinga District. The two important measures of 1936, the Representation of Natives Act and the Native Trust and Land

Act, are not mentioned in the book, so that the sketch of the council system is incomplete.

The second chapter is a survey of the achievements of the councils in the Transkeian Territories. According to the introduction, it has been included "in order to indicate the broad lines along which the Transvaal Local Councils should function in order to avoid a repetition of the evils caused by the inertia of custom in the Transkeian Territories." The evils are presumably those of overstocking and poor husbandry, and the action taken to combat them is described, but the extent to which the co-operation of the people has been secured is not discussed. Nor has an attempt been made to describe the day-to-day activities of the councils and the part taken in them by the members. A first-hand study of the Transkeian system is still badly needed.

The greater and more valuable part of the book is devoted to a study, based upon personal visits and an examination of minutes and other records, of the Transvaal local councils at work. The information contained in this section is new and important. It is arranged in six chapters, the first being a general account of the history and constitution of the councils, and the others dealing with water supply, agriculture, live stock, public works and health, and education. The situation of the council areas is shown in excellent maps of the locations and adjoining farms.

The author has described the councils as "the most successful experiment in government by which the Natives have been allowed to rule themselves," but the definition is not altogether borne out by his facts. The councils are certainly constituted in accordance with the conceptions of Western democracy, for of the six members, four are elected by taxpayers, except in Sekukuniland (this is not mentioned in the book), where all the members are nominated and appointed by the Governor-General. But, in spite of the statement that the tribesman has no conception of popular election, there is no information on how the elections are organised, or whether the voters are keen and act freely, or under the influence of chiefs and the administration.

A properly functioning system of self-government does not end with elections, and Mr. van Lille has made interesting observations on the procedure adopted at council meetings. It is "a peculiar fact that in Councils, which have been established for the Natives and consist of Native members, the proceedings should be conducted in English." At the different centres, the interpreters included an agricultural demonstrator, a constable, the court interpreter and the council's Native secretary.

Interpreters are necessary because the European officials, who are the chairmen and treasurers, do not know the vernacular, and the author suggests that promotion in the Native Affairs Department should be made dependent on a knowledge of the people's language and customs. In this respect the Union lags behind other African territories, where as a general rule cadets are posted to stations only after they have undergone a training, of varying degrees of intensity, for the work of district administration. In the Union an assumption is made that it is enough to have been born in the country to know how to "handle" the Native. The attitude is not consistent with the declared aims of policy, and it is unlikely that the Natives will continue to accept, without objection, the use of a foreign language as the principal medium in their representative organs.

The problem would be brought nearer a solution if in council areas, an official of the Native Affairs Department were put in charge of Native affairs. This has been done in Pietersburg and Sekukuniland, but at Zeerust and Potgietersrust the Magistrates, who are officers of the Department of Justice, act as chairmen of the local councils. They are appointed to these posts within a few years of retirement, and often have had no previous experience in Native areas, with the result, as the author points out, that they are unwilling to make a special study of the tribe or the council system, and are inclined to ask for a transfer. At one station no fewer than five Magistrates were appointed in a period of three years! It is not surprising that in this district the council meets, not in the reserve among the people, but at the seat of magistracy, to which the members travel by motor bus, or that in another area the meetings "had of necessity to be hurried through, as the officials wanted to be back by five o'clock."

A more deliberate and energetic policy is needed. The councils were instituted with chairmen and members who had had no experience in preparing estimates, and received no data as to probable expenditure. The Department was unable to supply them with copies of the council regulations, so that they did not know what procedure to adopt and what subjects they might discuss. Not knowing that their educational expenditure was limited to the erection and upkeep of school buildings for the tribe, they kept on voting money for equipment, books and teachers' salaries, "and could not understand why their proposals were rejected." Some of the councils lost large sums of money on water supply schemes, by employing unscrupulous private contractors to sink boreholes, or buying unsuitable pumps, which would have been saved if the Department had provided for an exchange of experiences and a measure of co-ordination. Money was spent unnecessarily, too, in building

temporary huts for the councils, although they began with balances in the Native Development Account; and it appears that even now most of them lack a suitable hall for meetings and public functions.

Mr. van Lille brings the charge that in many spheres of activity the relations of the Native Affairs Department with the councils are marked with inconsistency. The Department supplied one council with agricultural implements, and not the others; it appointed an agricultural supervisor for only one district; in two areas it employed a European mechanical engineer to repair pumps and windmills, while councils elsewhere were made responsible for repairs; and it refused to sanction expenditure on medical services by one council, situated in a malarial area without clinics, thirty miles from the nearest hospital, but allowed other councils to buy medicine chests and pay for the visits of a medical practitioner to combat venereal and other diseases. The Department does not seem to be quite clear what the scope of the councils' functions should be, though the main reason for the unequal treatment is probably lack of funds.

Details of the councils' revenue and expenditure were collected for the author's thesis, but are unfortunately not included in the book; even a brief summary would have been useful. It is clear, however, that the income of from £200 to £400 which most of the councils receive, is quite inadequate for local needs. A number of instances are recorded of councils proposing, but not being allowed to undertake schemes for improvement and development of roads, agriculture, health and educational services, because the money was not available. Councillors appear to be particularly eager to have more schools and better medical services. One council asked that Native schools should have the privilege given to all other schools, of obtaining school material free of charge, but it was told that funds were not available. A request for the establishment of a secondary school at Mpahlele was also refused, though, in the author's opinion, it was highly justified and could have been met with little cost other than that of supplying the staff, as a building was available and hostels were being provided through tribal levies. He points out that it is time that an arrangement were made to supplement the funds out of which Native education is paid.

In spite of the financial limitation, the council system has been a valuable instrument for arousing interest in the development of tribal areas. The author has not dealt specifically with the question whether the Native councillors, or the European chairmen, are the driving force and source of initiative, but the impression is conveyed that although the former are active in pressing for improvements and raising demands, the

actual responsibility rests with the officials. The members are elected to committees dealing with such matters as agriculture, public works and health services, "but in some cases they did not show the necessary interest in the work," and in some areas they and the inhabitants looked upon the councils as European institutions, out of which they tried to make as much as possible. The attitude is by no means peculiar to an African community, and perhaps the only way to correct it is to entrust the people and their representatives with a greater share of responsibility, and to make them feel that the council really belongs to them. The change will hardly be brought about under a chairman who holds the view, quoted in the book, that "the Government would sooner do away with the Council than with dipping."

Mr. van Lille has brought together a mass of facts in a small compass, and has made many recommendations that the Department of Native Affairs should find valuable when it formulates a clear policy for the future development of the council system. At present the councils are in danger of stagnation, and of losing the confidence of the people. The official policy, as regards the Native, may be one of segregation, but in practice the Government has been driven to create even in tribal areas political institutions that correspond more closely to the European than the tribal pattern. The Native, having set his feet on the road of self-government, is likely to press forward, as the European has done in the past. A wise administration would recognise the possibility, and provide for it by progressively transferring responsibilities to the Native representatives. Such a policy would create problems, and Mr. van Lille has performed a good service in showing how some of them could be solved.

H. J. SIMONS.

Social and Psychological Aspects of Education in Taleland, by Dr. M. Fortes. Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press, 1/- net (Memorandum XVII of the International Institute of African Languages and Cultures) 64 pp.

In this monograph the writer deals with the training which fits the Tale child evidently very successfully to become a member of the community. None of it requires the separation of the children from the general life into a "school" nor to any extent any set training. "The Tallensi do not make any systematic use of training situations. They teach through real situation which children are drawn to participate in because it is expected that they are capable and desirous of mastering the necessary skills."

The picture gives a South African reader to think. We deal in South Africa with people who have in general given some definite and systematised training at least at puberty, but with whom nevertheless a great deal of the social training and training in skills has been acquired in the same way as in Taleland, through initiation, identification, co-operation and play activities. In the same way the elders "expect normal behaviour." With a changing social system, increasingly dependent on western standards and activities, schools are without doubt necessary. Dr. Fortes' book should stimulate research into how in this changing community life even school education may help the children to participate in real situations and rural school training though it must be systematic, may lead the children to an appreciation of the skills of normal, though not necessarily primitive, rural life.

E.B.J.

Uvulindlebe and Ezekhethelo, by T. Z. Masondo, illus. by W. Mdlalose (Shuter & Shooter, Pietermaritzburg,) 1939, price 9d. each.

These little Zulu readers of 71 and 63 pages respectively, designed for second year infants classes in Natal Government schools, were written, illustrated and seen through the press entirely by Zulus. There could have been a little more care over the proof-reading and there are still to be found some mistakes, principally of word-division, in the handling of the new orthography; the punctuation also is faulty, long paragraphs occurring without commas to break them up. But apart from these criticisms the books are creditable efforts. The chapters are longer than has been the custom with Zulu readers, and thus interest is far better sustained. Not only will they be of service in Native schools, but the choice of simple language will commend them to foreign beginners of Zulu.

C.M.D.

The Church and Primitive Peoples, by D. W. T. Shrophire, C.R., pp. xli + 466, S.P.C.K. London, 1938, 12/6.

This is a book by a Missionary anthropologist, that ought to be read by all missionaries working among Bantu people, particularly in South Africa. Probably many missionaries will not agree with Father Shrophire's findings—the present reviewer to a large extent does not, possibly because he does not belong to a high ritualistic church. But the facts contained in this book, and the arresting questions raised with the bold proposals as to how to deal with the development of the Christian Church in Bantu South Africa, are certainly challenging to thought; and

the book will do a great amount of good in the stimulating of careful thought towards missionary problems, which hitherto have to a great extent been left to solve themselves.

After an introductory section, in which the author explains his background, the book is divided into two main sections, part one dealing with Bantu life in its "communal aspect," its "quasi-individual aspect," and its "specifically religious aspect," and part two in which the beliefs and institutions of the people are evaluated and proposals made towards retention of as much of them as possible in African Christianity.

The author explains that his study is concerned with the Southern Bantu, and yet he has included copious references to the Ila tribe "because a very thorough first-hand investigation of this tribe is now available." This does not seem to be necessarily a sound choice. The Ila belong to the Central Bantu, and Smith's great work on them (published as long ago as 1920) reveals a people very different in customs and religious beliefs from the Southern Bantu. Going as far afield as the Ila should have justified references and comparisons to yet other Bantu tribes.

Part one, in its three sub-sections is a rich compilation from the wellknown publications of Callaway, Casalis, Junod and Smith and Dale in particular, together with Mashonaland evidence from Bullock's publication and the author's own notes and experiences. This constitutes a valuable summary of facts and conclusions for the student who has not been able to study the classic authors on the different tribes. Shropshire has included some very interesting first-hand evidence collected in his mission work among the Manyika and surrounding peoples, particularly the Barwe. One would like to have seen adopted the current scientific method of referring to Bantu tribes by omission of prefix, and a better method of using Bantu words in an English text. Instances of poor handling of the latter occur particularly between pages 225 and 229, where one reads "the men began to kuwombera" (kuwombera is infinitive and equals "to clap hands;" this should read "the men began to wombera,") or such a hybrid phrase as "the mukwambo's baba" for "the haba of the mukwambo," if the terms must be used. Afrikaans readers will be amused at "footsack" on page 229!

Readers will be especially attracted to Shropshire's investigations in Chapter XIV into the incidence among the Southern Bantu of ritual persons, ceremonial objects and observances including sacrifice, images, offerings, praise, prayer, confession, meditation, and faith. There is, however, a tendency to read rather more into some of these things than actually exists among the people.

Father Shropshire's main thesis is to indicate how much of Native custom, belief and ritual can be retained, and taken over into a Bantu Christianity. He finds a considerable amount: and it is here that many missionaries will join issue with him. First of all he emphasises the communal life and outlook of the Bantu and would have Bantu Christianity more communal than individualistic. But true Christianity is an individual matter of individual choice and individual rebirth, and not a question of communal conformity to ritual. The very preaching of Christianity cannot but act as a disintegrating force as it has been doing and will continue to do. Tribal sanctions cannot gradually be transferred to Church authority; and it is a very dangerous proposal that "the beneficent qualities of the ancestors should gradually be transferred and set in order under the aegis, and within the care of the Supreme Being " (p. 341). Is the Church going to recognise all the intermediate stages during the course of this gradual transference? It is not the duty of Christianity to find a place for ancestor worship (p. 371), in order to be the universal religion; ancestor worship is false!

Another proposal which will be sharply challenged is that circumcision (among those tribes who practise it, I suppose) should be embodied as a Christian rite. It never has been and never can be; yet we get this weird paragraph on page 377: "The actual circumcision should take place fairly early in the rite (of initiation). The boys would first bathe, then go to a celebration of the Holy Eucharist in Church, which might be celebrated with the intention of the protection of the Holy Angels." Equally strange is the suggestion on the next page that relatives of the initiates should not be told if one gets sick, and if he dies his mother should be told "on the final day;" surely the keenness to retain the secrecy of the initiation camps is here over-riding natural Christian feelings!

It is impossible to lay down any such detailed rules as Father Shropshire suggests for the growth of an African Church: no one individual can even work out a scheme for it: it will grow by itself in a healthy normal manner. For instances all controversy for and against lobolo will be settled by the gradual detribalisation and settling of the people into new standards of civilization. There is nothing inherently unchristian in lobolo and it is proved from the lives of many Bantu Christians that it is not essential to happy marriage.

The author's remarks on polygyny are wise: I find I can heartily agree with them. A polygynist cannot be refused Christian baptism, but a Church member who lapses into polygyny cannot remain in the Church.

Father Shropshire seems to have overlooked one very important factor, and that is the rightful ambitions and desires of a large section of Bantu people to share in Western civilization and culture. The future forms of Bantu life and culture will be decided as the result of many influences from without and within. Father Shropshire has rightly pointed to certain possibilities, and though many cannot follow his impetuous lead, we cannot be too thankful to him for directing attention to the possibilities of a truly Bantu interpretation of Christianity.

CMD

A STATEMENT

The Editor, Bantu Studies,

Sir:—In my recently-published work, The Church and Primitive Peoples, London, Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1938, I have made use of an unpublished thesis lent to me by its author, Dr. Max Gluckman. In my Preface (p. xiv), I have expressed my appreciation of the help given me by Dr. Gluckman. But, I realise now that, in thanking him for "much useful information," I employed a phrase which fails to make clear either that a great deal of this information is derived from an unpublished thesis, or the actual extent of my indebtedness to Dr. Gluckman's work. Some of the passages from his thesis, used by me, also contained references to other anthropologists which, owing to my lack of experience in literary custom, I have omitted to reproduce.

The main passages in my book for which I am indebted to Dr. Gluckman's thesis, are the following:—

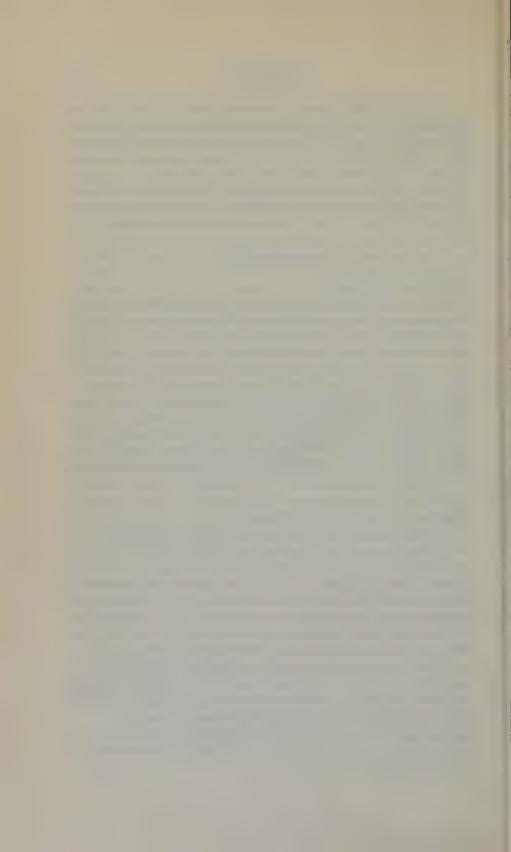
P. 5 to the 14th line of p. 9; pp, 85-87, 28th line; p. 93; pp. 100-1; p. 108, 15th line, to p. 112; 38th line of p. 115 to 26th line of p. 116; 10th line of p. 85 to 15th line of p. 86; 35th line of p. 87 to end of page; 32nd line of page 99 to end of page; 21st line of p. 103 to 29th line of p. 104; 19th line of page 107 to end of page; pp. 114-118, 6th line, with the exception of the middle paragraph on p. 117; pp. 130-2; pp. 142-151, end of third paragraph; last paragraph on p. 164 to p. 165, 30th line; penultimate paragraph of p. 249 to top of page 250.

I ask for this opportuity to make public this statement and to express my sincere regrets to Dr. Gluckman, in the hope that the above acknowledgement will make it possible for him to use the content of these passages in work which he is, himself, preparing for publication.

Yours faithfully,

D. W. T. SHROPSHIRE.

Rosettenville, 16. 2. 39.



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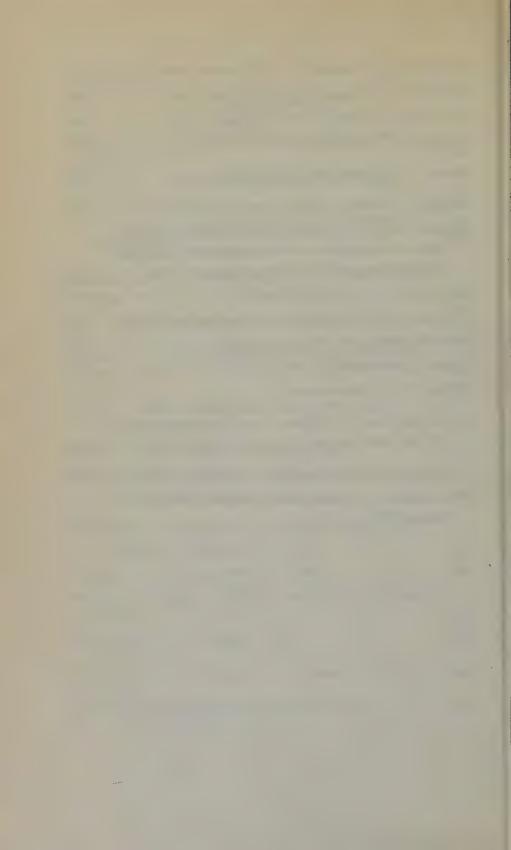
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LAMBA FOLK TALES ANNOTATED

By C. M. DOKE

There may be several objects in view in the collection and publication of Bantu folk tales. Some collections are made for the sake of a definite study of folk-lore as such, comparing the incidence of individual tales or types of tales in any one Bantu language with others, or with similar forms in other language families, tracing the origins of myths and stories and their spread from one area to another. In this type of study, the translation of the tales into one of the great European languages is generally sought after. Other collections come as a result of anthropological research or the investigations of missionaries who desire to probe them for light upon Native custom and more particularly upon the workings of the Native mind, so revealing are they of the Bantu outlook upon life, so richly do they exemplify the Bantu background of thought and belief, and so valuable are they often in exhibiting instances of Bantu custom and reasoning. Here again it is the translation of these tales which is most commonly used.

Nowadays, in the search for reading material for school readers in languages which are being used educationally, folktales provide a rich source in the Native vernacular, and Bantu school children everywhere revel in these amusing and instructive tales which are so pregnant of their own home life and thought, and which constitute a rich literary heritage in their own mother tongue. There are, however, many Bantu languages which, owing to the paucity of the numbers of their speakers, cannot be used or perpetuated for educational purposes, and the collection of folklore texts in which can only be of practical use to students of Bantu, particularly of Comparative Bantu. In this category must be classed the Lamba language of Northern Rhodesia, which belongs to the Bemba group of Central Bantu. Bemba, spoken by a much larger number of people, is accepted by the Government as an official vernacular for the Northern area, and Lamba, with its paltry 100,000 speakers (in its various dialects) is now only used in Mission work, in Bible translation and in the most elementary school education.

In 1927 the American Folk-Lore Society published a work by me entitled Lamba Folk-Lore. This contained 159 Folk tales in Lamba text and English translation, besides 1695 aphorisms, 95 songs and

¹ Vol. XX of the Memoirs of the American Folk-Lore Society, 570 pp.

144 riddles. The object of this work was to present a picture of the people's rich heritage of folk-lore, and to emphasise more particularly the wealth of idiom at their command in the seemingly endless numbers of proverbs they use. A few additional aphorisms were published later in *Bantu Studies*, with the same object in view. The notes on all these aphorisms were simply to explain their meaning and use: no attempt was made to deal with philological points. Considerable further Lamba folk-lore material has been collected, amounting to approximately seventy-five tales, and this is as yet unpublished.

For the present article I have chosen four of these hitherto unpublished tales in order to give them in their original text, with an English translation and with considerable philological annotation. In the notes frequent reference is made to the paragraphs of my Text-Book of Lamba Grammar³ (referred to as T.L.G.). The tales are selected more or less at random, but show very different styles of narration. Three of them represent the main Lamba dialect, and the last one was narrated by a Ŵulima schoolboy named Lumetuka, and shews Ŵulima dialectal forms. Story No. 3 is given in the simplest Lamba style, while the first two use a better, somewhat more difficult, idiom. Throughout, the notes should be studied in the present order of the tales, for constructions explained in the first are not further explained in the later tales should they recur. Noun class references are according to Meinhof's numbering.

1. ICISIMICISYO ICĀDGULUŴE IYĀFUMINE MUMPADGA MUKWALUKA MUNTU

Pakuti¹ syāliŵuŋgene iŋguluŵe mumpaŋga. Kūmfwā'ti'² Mweŵāme fweŵo tatukwete-po³ ifilyo ifiweme; umbi ŋgāluke muntu,⁴ aye kumusi wāŵantu mukucetē' fyāŵo ifi ŵakalukucita, pakulukuya⁵ mukwīŵē' fyākulya.⁶ Cīne Ŵaŋguluŵe¹ ŵalialucile ŵantu⁶ nekufika kumusi. Ŵālificile kuŵēne⁶ ŵāmusi ati, ŋgaŵaŋaŋge-ko¹o akaŋanda. Lombō'lucēlo ŵālīle naŵo¹¹ mukulima,¹² kusaŋganē'fyākulya¹³ mpaŋgana mpaŋgana.¹⁴ Lomba aŵa-Ŵamuŋguluŵe¹⁵ nekwipusya¹⁶ ati, Kuno-kuntu¹¬ kuli-po neŋguluŵe²¹⁶ Kūmfwa ati,¹⁰ Eko sili, Mwane.²⁰ Kūmfwa ati, Silalya lukoso ²²¹ Kūmfwa ati, Tulasiteyē'myāndo.²² Kūmfwa ati, Mbāya-maŵala ākuti uŵukulu²³ mulateyela kulipi imyāndo ² Kūmfwā'ŵantunsi²⁴ ati, Tulateyela umuli²⁵ amataŵa aēnji, pakuti ēmo ŵatemenwe.²⁶ Kūmfwa Ŵamuŋguluŵe ati, Yōpelē'yo imyāndo nekuŵakonsya ² Ati, nemaciŋga²¹ tulatula. Ati,

⁹ Vol. IV, 1930. pp. 109-135, 181-192.

² Published by the Witwatersrand University Press, 1938.

And taken down by H. L. Wildey in January, 1913.

Mbanao²⁸ amacinga mulacita syāni? Kūmfwa ati, Tulatulō'ŵucinga nekuŵamba-po icāni pēulu, lomba Ŵamunguluŵe pakwīsa nekulanguluka ati nipansi lukoso, nekuponena-mo. Lomba Ŵamunguluŵe nekwipusya ati, Fimbi tapali-po? Ati, Tapali-po nafimbi.²⁹ Fimbi tulaya kuŵela-ma³⁰ icingulo ²¹ ati tusīpaye.

Põpele Ŵamunguluŵe väälicēnjēle⁸² ati pano nāikatā'māno⁸³ āŵantu. Põpele ālialucile kaŵili ninguluŵe, lomba alukuya kwāwo.⁸⁴ Lomba nekulonganyā'waŵyāwo,³⁵ ati, Mwewāme, uku nāīle³⁶ kumusi kuwantunsi, kani mwāsangana pali⁸⁷ amatawa aēnji ēpali umwāndo; kawili kani mwāsangana pawucinga necāni wāliwīcile-po, tēkwawucila-po. Lomba wamunguluwe võnse, pakūmfwē'fyo, wālisakatīle³⁸ ukulukulyē'fyāwantunsi. Insiku isīnji wamunguluwe tēkwikatwa-ko kumwāndo kōku,⁸⁹ pakuti wālicenjēle, wālitanjile ukwīsa mukusambila.

1. THE STORY OF THE RIVER-HOG WHO LEFT THE WILD VELD TO BECOME A HUMAN BEING

Now the river-hogs gathered in the veld. Thereupon one said, Friends, as for us, we have not got nice food; let one change into a human being, and go to a human village to spy into their affairs as to what they will do when one goes to steal their food. So surely Mr. River-hog changed into a human being and came to the village. He came to the headman of the village and said, Please shew me to a little hut. Then in the morning he went with them to the cultivating, and lo there was food in untold abundance. Thereupon this Mr. River-hog asked, In this place are there any river-hogs? And they said, There are, Sir. And he: Do they eat unhindered? And they: We set rope-traps for them. And he: But in such huge gardens as these where do you set the rope-traps? And the people said, We set where there is much maize, for it is in there that they like (to go). Thereupon Mr. River-hog said, Do those very rope-traps complete the business regarding them? And they: Pitfalls also we dig. And he: Now the pitfalls, how do you make them? And they: We dig a game-pit, and cover it over with grass, and then Mr. River-hog, when he comes, thinks that it is merely the ground, and in he falls. Thereupon Mr. River-hog asked, Is there nothing else? And they: There is nothing else. Besides this we go to lie in wait in the evening in order that we may kill them.

Then Mr. River-hog was forewarned, knowing that now he had grasped the wisdom of people. Then he changed back again into a river-hog, and off he goes home. Thereupon he gathered together his fellows, and said, Friends, where I went to the village among the human

beings, if you come upon a place where there is much maize, it is there that there is a rope-trap; and further, if you come upon a place where there is a game-pit on which they have placed grass, don't cross there. Thereupon all the River-hogs, on hearing that, made a systematic and concerted attack eating what belonged to the humans. For many days the River-hogs were by no means caught by the rope-trap, because they were forewarned, they had first of all come in order to learn.

NOTES

- 1. pakuti: a common way of commencing a folk-tale by certain narrators, lit. "because."
- kūmfwā'ti: a general introducing conjunction, kūmfwa (lit. "to hear") and ati (that), implying that one of the number makes a statement; lit. "To hear that..." See also 19.
- 3. The verb kwata (perf. -kwete) is only found in Lamba in the perfect stem, and generally in the negative; it means "to have, possess." Few Bantu languages have any other means of expressing "have" than the conjunctive na- in copulative construction. Lamba also has this construction and an alternative rendering could be tatuli nefilyo. Bemba uses kwata in the simple stem, e.g. akwato-mwenso, "he is afraid, Lamba, alikwete umwenso or ali nemwenso.
- 4. muntu, copulative form after aluka, i.e. "let him change and become a human.
- 5. pakulukuya, indefinite locative form (Cl. 16) expressing time, lit. "at to be going," i.e. "when one goes."
- 6. mukwiwa, locative form (Cl. 18) with the infinitive, indicating purpose, lit. "into stealing," i.e. "in order to steal." [T.L.G. 722-3].
- 7. Wanguluwe: The noun inguluwe belongs to Class 9, the personified form Dguluwe is in Class 1a with its plural Wanguluwe (Cl. 2a); there is also another form in Class 1a, viz. Munguluwe, pl. Wanungulue. In this case Wanguluwe is the honorific plural, used because the hero of the story "Mr. River-hog" is now selected out from the whole gathering. [T.L.G. 737].
- 8. Note that since Wanguluwe though referring to one individual is in plural form, therefore the copulative wantu is plural in harmony.
- 9. Note here the respectful use of the honorific plural awene is plural of umwine, "owner."

- 10. ngawayange-ko: (1) Ordinary respect would be achieved by using the 2nd person plural, i.e. ngamuyange-ko, but further respect is indicated by employing the 3rd person plural in address to a chief; lit. "That they might shew me," i.e. "Please shew me." (2) Note that langa becomes nange under influence of the 1st person singular objectival concord, a nasal; the rule is that "+ a > ng-, except when the next syllable contains a nasal compound, in which case "+ a > ng [T.L.G. 30].
- 11. Wālīle nawo: Note the Lamba idiom for "he went with them," lit. "They went and he (lit. "they," honorific plur.),"i.e. "They took him with them."
- 12. mukulima, cf. 6 above; "into the cultivating" or "in order to cultivate."
- 13. kusangana, here a conjunction, indicating "and lo," from the verb sangana, "to meet."
- 14. mpangana is an ideophone, always used repeated, indicating "in immense numbers."
- 15. aŵa-Wamunguluŵe, honorific plural, cf. 7 above, and notice the immediate contrast when the ordinary term for the animals, inguluŵe is used in the same sentence.
- 16. nekwipusya: a common Lamba construction in consecutive narration is to use the conjunctive na-followed by the verb infinitive. [T.L.G. 417].
- 17. kuno-kuntu: From the root -ntu indicating existence, Lamba uses the three locative forms, kuntu, pantu and muntu for the spot where a thing is, place. The demonstrative kuno (this here) is in appositional agreement.
- 18. A common idiom in Lamba narration is to use the conjunctive nabefore nouns without any significance of "also" or "even;" kuli-po inguluwe would have precisely the same significance, but would not, in this case, be so idiomatic as kuli-po nenguluwe.
- 19. Kūmfwa ati, or Kūmfwā'ti: Instead of reiterating "He asked," "They replied," etc. the Lamba uses this expressive conjunctional introduction, lit. "to hear that." See its use explained in another connection in 2 above.
- 20. Mwane: an interjection of respect or affection, equivalent to "Sir," used by slaves in addressing free men, etc.
- 21. lukoso: adverb generally indicating "merely, absolutely, utterly, only," but also used idiomatically as in the expressions: nāīsa

lukoso "I have merely come" (i.e. I have no special purpose in coming); matako lukoso "naked" (lit. merely buttocks"); minwe lukoso "unloaded" (with nothing in the hands; lit. merely fingers); and this expression, silalya lukoso? "Do they merely eat?" (i.e. unhindered).

Note that a question in Lamba is not generally indicated by any interrogative adverb, but is dependent upon tone as in this sentence.

- 22. umwāndo, a rope or string; specifically a noose attached to a bent sapling, set in a fence gap or on a game path.
- 23. ākuti uŵukulu: an expression of the superlative is achieved in Lamba by use of the possessive form -ākuti followed by a class 14 noun; note such expressions as icākuti uŵūne, "wonderfully beautiful," ifyākuti ubwīnji, "in immense numbers," insila iyākuti uŵutali, "a tremendously long path," etc.
- 24. awantunsi: (1) the term is inserted here to prevent any confusion as to the parties in the question and answer conversation; (2) the term umuntunsi (umuntu + the suffix -nsi indicates definitely a human being, whereas umuntu in addition is sometimes applied to celestial beings such as are believed to inhabit the sun, moon, etc. The suffix -nsi, connected with the obsolete noun insi (the earth) occurring in pansi, kunsi, munsi (down), is found but rarely in Lamba; but note imbonsi (west; cf. Lenje, imbo), icandansi (a flat rock on the ground), umwanansi (a child of the country).
- 25. umuli amatawa: the relative concord indicating the concordial subject of li is Class 18 umu-, whereas the logical subject is amatawa; literal translation, "wherein is maize"; this is a regular idiom.
- 26. Watemenwe: Note the change of concord from si- for inguluwe to wa- under the stress of personification.
- 27. amacinga, plur. of uwucinga, a game-pit, such as is dug in gaps in cross-country game-fences, in game-trails or at antheap salt-licks.
- 28. mba- is an interrogative prefix indicating "what about," regarding," prefaced to the first word of an emphatic question; see above mbāya-maŵala (what regarding these gardens?); it is used in forming the conjunctions mbapo, mbati, mbeli, etc. Note also: Mbacīsa-cēwo? (Which affair?); Mbawālawīle ati

- syāni? (What did they say?), where the verb is in the relative conjugation; and in answering a riddle: *Icitacipela! Mbensila?* (That which does not end! What of a Native path?). [T.L.G. 598, 690-1].
- 29. This is typically Lamba: to say that there is nothing else, and then to go on to enumerate a further precaution. *Fimbi* is plural and literally means "other things."
- 30. tulaya kuŵelama: after the verbs isa (come) and ya (go) a short infinitive of purpose is idiomatically used; this instead of mukuŵelama is more expressive; cf. nāīsa kumuŵonēni "I have come to see you."
- 31. icingulo: noun indicative of time used as an adverb without inflexion; icingulo, "the evening" or "in the evening."
- 32. cēnjela: this verb has two main shades of meaning: (1) be shrewd, cunning, sly, crafty; and (2) take warning, beware, be on one's guard. The second meaning is applicable here.
- 33. nāikatā'māno: Indirect speech is foreign to Lamba; the literal translation here is: "he was forewarned saying now I have grasped the wisdom of people."
- 34. kwāwo, "his, her or their home," the locative form embodying the prepositional force of "to, at, from," etc., according to construction; this means "the place to which he (or they) belongs"; forms corresponding to the other locative classes are pāwo and mwāwo; similar forms for the other persons with plural possessives are: 1st person, kwēsu, pēsu, mwēsu (my or our home); kwēnu, pēnu, mwēnu (thy or your home).
- 35. aŵaŵyāŵo, sing. umuŵyāŵo, "his or their fellow, companion, mate in work, rival"; there is a whole series of these forms with possessive suffixes, e.g. umuŵyānji (my fellow), umuŵyēsu (our fellow), etc.
- 36. uku nāīle: the 1st demonstrative is here used relatively where one would expect uko; both constructions are idiomatic.
- 37. pali: the locative is very significant here, and means not "that there is," but "the place where there is "; the same applies to pawuciyga, "a place where there is a game-pit."
- 38. sakatila: "make a concerted attack; attack from all sides; beat the bush in extended line."
- 39. kõhu: emphatic negative adverb after a negative expression.

2. ICISIMICISYO ICAMUNTUNSI

Alīmitile¹ īpafu. Pakwēŵa ati kambi-kasuŵa² īpafu lyāŵūka;³ võnse awantu⁴ nekuya kwisula-mo mõpele umo. Ukufyala nekufyala⁵ vacilele.⁰ Pakwēŵa ati wāfyalwē'fyo wacilele, wõnse lomba nekutīna. Kūmfwa ati, "Uyu-mwāme¹ wāfyalē'nsoka, lomba ciwīkēni kuciwumba bwīno." Lomba nekufuma wõnse awānakasi umo, ukulukulawila kuwa-wyāwo ati, "Lēlo muŋandō'mo wāfyalē'cilele, lomba.twāciwīka kuciwumba." Lomba wõnse awantu nekukaŋkamana.

Pakwēŵa ati ŵāfuma-mo ŵōnse aŵantu ifyo, pōpele ŵanyina nekulu-kutamba⁸ icilele ico. Pakwēŵa ati ŵafumya-po amēnso, lomba nalwē⁹ mwāfumō'muntu mucilele. Ati, "Mama,¹⁰ mwānjeŵa¹¹ ati twāfyalē' cilele,¹² naneŵo nemwīne ēmo nāīsila.¹³ Nāīsila¹³ munsoka, nēsina lyānji nine Cilele,

Pakwēŵa ati alukwīsa¹⁴ ili akula, pakwēŵa ati atatike ukupukuta neŵaŵyākwe, nekulukwipusya ŵanyina ati, "Tamuli-po nendume, ŵampepo¹⁵ akafumo?"¹⁶ Lomba ŵanyina ēpakuya kundume syāŵo, ati, "Wacilele¹⁷ ifi ŵalukulaŵila ŵālombē'fumo Wacilele! Kani muli nēfumo lētēni, mbatwalile!" Epakuŵūla¹⁸ nēfumo¹⁹ ati, "Watwalilēni." Naŵo ŵanyina-Wacilele nekupinta nēfumo, nekuŵatwalila Wacilele ati, "Ndi²⁰ īfumo mulukufwaya!"

Pakwēŵa ati wāpokē'lyo īfumo Wacilele, kūmfwa ati, "Munc-muntu²¹ tamuli-po amanama?"²³ Ati, "Ninsofu!"²⁴ Kūmfwa wanyina nawo ati, "Mbamwe insofu syāndo?"²⁵ Kūmfwa ati, "I, ēsi ndukufwaya, munange²⁶ uko uku sīkala." Nawo wanyina nekumulanga.

Pakwēŵa ati wāmulaŋgē' fyo wanyina, pōpele nekwīmya²¹ newaŵyākwe watatu. Pakwēŵa ati wāfikō'ko kunsofu, wasaŋgane²² insofu lomba syāwuŋganina. Nekunīna kumuti; awaŵyākwe nekuya kumusindicila²² insofu isyo. Kasiwuŋganina mumuti³⁰ umwāli,³¹ lomba alukwīmina-mo³² lukoso nemafumo. Pakwēwa ati lomba ŋgafifilya³³ imbi nayo kaifwa,³⁴ imbi nayo kaifwa. Lomba kalukupona³⁵ kumuti.

Newantu nekuya³⁶ kupoka kumusi, lomba ati, Ŵacilèle ŵāipayē'nsofu." Ŵōnse lomba nekukaŋkamana lukoso ati, "Ŵacilele maīlo apa,³⁷ nekwipaya-po insofu siŵili; naye ulya-muntu musaŋgu." Lomba cilukuya³⁹ mpaŋgana mpaŋgana aŵantu, nekufika nakunsofu uko. Lomba ŵalukupampāla.⁴⁰ Ŵacilele ati, "Mweŵāme kamupampa bwīno isi-nsofu, mwīnto-wawila⁴¹ amēno, pakuti ifinani fyēnu. Lomba aŵantu nekulukupampa bwīno, nemēno nekumusokawila-mo."

Lomba ēli ŵaŋgēŵa⁴² Ŵacilele ati, "Ndukufwaya aŵantu aŵākumpintisya-ko⁴³ amēno. Tulukuya tukōle⁴⁴ ifyākufwala." Neŵaŵyākwe nekwīsa, nekupinta, lomba ŵalukuya. Pakwēŵa ati ŵāfikō'ko kunyansi,⁴⁵ kūmfwa ati, "Ŵacilele ŵāīsa, ŵāïsa nemēno ānsofu." Nekulāla kōpele uko kumutunta; kusaŋganō'ŵusiku amēno ŵātwala ānsofu,⁴⁶ pāīsa insalu isyākuti ubwīnji; nekuŵūka naŵo lomba ŵalukukaka, nekwīma; lomba ŵalukubwelela kwāŵo Ŵacilele nemaŵoni āŵo.

Pakwēŵa ati ŵāfikē'fyo kwāŵo ati, "Ŵābwela Ŵacilele uko⁴⁷ ŵāīle kunyansi." Lomba aŵantu nekulukwēŵa ati, "Tēmwe mwāti⁴⁸ mukapōse ati cilele, tēpapa ŵuno-ŵukumo mwāŵila?" Kūmfwa Ŵacilele ati, "Ŵamwinsyo⁴⁹ ngaŵēse, ŵāŵe uŵuwoni." Lomba cīne naŵamwinsyo ŵākwe Cilele nekwīsa, naŵo nekufika lomba ŵālukwāwa. Ŵacilele lomba ŵālīkele lukoso. Pōpele lomba ŵōnse aŵantu nekutōtō'kwākuti ati, "Cīne twati tukapōsō'musambasi!"

2. THE STORY OF A HUMAN BEING

A woman became pregnant. Then on a certain day labour commenced; and everybody went to crowd the place over there. And she gave birth to Mr. Blue-snake. Now when Mr. Blue-snake was thus born, everyone got afraid. Then it was said, "This friend of ours has given birth to a snake, so put it away carefully by the wall." Then all the women went out from there, and began to say to their fellows, "Today in that house, she has given birth to a blue-snake, and we have put it by the wall." Thereupon everyone was amazed.

Now when all the people had gone out thus, the mother kept gazing at that blue-snake. And when she took away her eyes, then lo! there came out from the blue-snake a person. He said, "Mother, you thought concerning me that you had given birth to a blue-snake, whereas I myself it is in that that I have come. I have come in a snake, and my name is Blue-snake."

Now when he was nearly grown up, and when he had begun to play with his companions, he began to ask his mother, saying, "Haven't you a brother, who might give me a little spear?" Then it was that his mother went to her brother, and said, "What Mr. Blue-snake is saying, he has begged for a spear, has Mr. Blue-snake! If you have a spear, bring it, and let me take it to him!" Thereupon he took up a spear saying, "Take it to him." And Mother-of-Mr. Blue-snake carried the spear, and took it to Mr. Blue-snake, and said, "Here is the spear you want!"

Now when Mr. Blue-snake had received the spear, he said, "Aren't there any animals hereabouts?" And she said, "Which animals?" He said, "Elephants!" Thereupon his mother said, "What have you got to do with elephants?" And he said, "No, it is they which I want, show me where they resort." And so his mother showed him.

Now when his mother had thus shown him, he thereupon set out with three of his companions. And when they had reached the place where the elephants were, they found the elephants already gathered together. So he climbed a tree; and his companions went to drive the elephants towards him. And they gathered beneath the tree where he was, and so he just attacked them with spears. So when things were thus, one of them died, and another of them died. And then down the little thing drops from the tree.

And they went to fetch people from the village and said, "Mr-Blue-snake has killed elephants." So all were simply amazed saying, "Mr. Blue-snake yesterday here, and he kills two elephants; now that fellow is a changer." So off the people went in countless numbers, and reached those elephants there. And they set to work cutting them up. Mr. Blue-snake said, "Friends, cut up these elephants carefully, don't break about my tusks, for the meat is yours." So the people did the cutting up carefully, and extracted the tusks for him.

Then it was that Mr. Blue-snake remarked saying, "I want people to help me to carry the tusks. Let us go and buy clothing." And companions of his came, and carried, and off they went. Now when they reached the sea there, it was said, "Mr. Blue-snake has come, he has come with elephant tusks." And they slept right there on the shore; and lo at night they took away the elephant's tusks, and there came a great quantity of cloth; and they arose and tied up (their loads), and set out; and Mr. Blue-snake returned home with his wealth.

Now when he had thus arrived home, they said, "Mr. Blue-snake has returned from where he went to the sea." Thereupon the people remarked, "Is it not you who very nearly threw (him) away thinking it a (mere) blue-snake, and is it not now that you have become rich?" Then Mr. Blue-snake said, "Let my maternal uncle come and distribute the wealth." Thereupon for sure Blue-snake's maternal uncle came, and he arrived and undertook the apportioning. And Mr. Blue-snake just sat by. And everybody gave sincere thanks, saying, "Truly, we very nearly threw away a man of wealth!"

NOTES

- 1. lit. "She became pregnant," or "She conceived." This commencement is abrupt, but normal in Lamba. It is obvious that it refers to some woman, but not to umuntunsi of the heading.
- 2. Pakwēŵa ati, or Pakwēŵa ati kambi-kasuŵa; lit. "At to mention," or "At to mention on a certain day": a common method of introducing narrative—"Now on a certain day."
- 3. Ipafu lyāwūka, lit. The womb (or the pregnant womb) awoke, i.e. began to act; labour commenced.
- 4. Wonse awantu, "everybody," here the usual Lamba exaggeration; it means all the women interested in the coming event. It is common custom for all married women who have already given birth to attend as spectators on such an occasion, and to crowd into the hut.
- 5. lit. "To bear and to bear," i.e. "Bearing she bore." This is an emphatic idiom.
- 6. Icilele (Class 7, pl. ifilele) is a small green and electric blue snake, resembling the blind worm. Natives say it enters the nostrils of a sleeping person and kills him that way. There is a proverb, Nicilelō'mwīne mwipailwa-ŵulanda, "He is a blue-snake killed for no cause." In this instance the word is used in Class 2a (honorific plural) as a proper name, "Mr. Blue-snake."
- 7. Uyu-mwāme, a term of endearment, equivalent to "this chap," "this fellow, chum," when applied to a man.
- 8. nekulukutamba, the use of the continuous form "and to be gazing," indicates a continuous action.
- 9. nalwē; lwē is an ideophone, generally used of arriving, or of something unexpectedly appearing. Note the use of conjunctive na- idiomatically preceding even an ideophone; lomba lwē might equally well have been used instead of lomba nalwē.
- 10. Mama, singular vocative of affectionate address by the child—
 "Mother!" "Mummy!" But note that apart from the vocative, the concords in reference to the mother, are in the 2nd person plural (honorific).
- 11. mwānjēwa: ēwa, consider, suppose, surmise; in Lamba this is a transitive verb, and takes the object of the person, concerning whom it is surmised.

- 12. Twāfyala. Lamba seldom uses oratio obliqua. This is literally: "You thought concerning me that we have given birth to a blue-snake." The 1st person plural here is still honorific.
- 13. Nāīsila. This use of the applied form īsila (instead of īsa) is idiomatic when accompanied by the locatives ēmo and munsoka.
- 14. *īsa ili*. The verb *īsa* (come) followed by the conjunction *ili*, signifies "be on the point of," e.g. Aīsē'li apya amēnda (The water is on the point of boiling). [T.L.G. 470 (ii)].
- 15. wampe-po, subjunctive, lit. "that they might give me." Here again indume is plural, and further respect is shewn by using wa(Cl. 2) instead of the normal plural concord si-(Cl. 10).
- 16. akafumo, diminutive of īfumo (spear).
- 17. The mother's awe and respect for this strange child are reflected in the use of the honorific plural; though even in ordinary cases it is by no means rare for a mother so to speak of her child.
- 18. Epaku \hat{w} ūla: a common construction in narrative, with the copulative \tilde{e} -, followed by a locative; lit. "It is at to take up."
- 19. Nēfumo: idiomatic use of na- (conjunctive), merely equivalent to the use of simple ifumo.
- 20. Ndi, locative copulative form of the 1st demonstrative ili (Class 5), agreeing with *ifumo*; "here it is," "this is it."
- 21. Muno-muntu: muntu is the Class 18 locative formed from the stem -ntu (obsolete noun intu), and generally signifies "place in or around." Muno-muntu means "in this vicinity," "hereabouts." Here muntu is used substantivally as subject of tamuli, where its concord appears.
- 22. amanama, quantitative plural; the normal plural being inama.
- .23. -isa? is an interrogative enumerative root, indicating "what?" "which one?" When used before the noun pronominally in apposition, elision of the initial vowel of the noun takes place resulting in a single word-group. [T.L.G. 275].
- 24. lit. "it is elephants"; ninsofu is copulative. A complete statement in Lamba must always be predicative, if not interjectional.
- 25. The literal translation of this sentence is: "How about you, elephants are of what?"
- 26. munange: under nasal influence l > nd, but with verbs, if the succeeding syllable contains a nasal compound, e.g. ηg as in the word $la\eta ga$, the d of nd is elided, l thus becoming n. This is

- present subjunctive, 2nd person plural, with object concord for 1st person singular. [T.L.G. 30].
- 27. imya, causative of ima, "cause to get up, cause to set out"; the literal translation is "thereupon and to cause to set out also his companions three."
- 28. *Chasangane*, present subjunctive used in narrative.
- 29. nekuya kumusindicila. Purpose is sometimes indicated in Lamba by the use of the verbs of motion ya and isa followed by a short infinitive, i.e. one devoid of initial vowel. Sindika means "push," the applied form sindicila, "push for" or "push towards"; here ukumusindicila means "to drive towards him."
- 30. mumuti, Locative of Class 18, generally signifies "in, into, out of, around"; when used with umuti, the significance is "beneath, in under."
- 31. umwāli, i.e. umo āli.
- 32. *īma*, "stand up, arise" in its applied form *īmina* means "rise against, attack."
- 33. ngafifilya, a copulative form modified by the conjunction nga, lit.

 "when they are thus." nga is usually a conjunction apart
 meaning "if" in unfulfilled conditional sentences, e.g. nga
 mwālisile, nga mwālibwene. "If you had come, you would
 have seen." Here it has time significance and is joined to the
 modified form of filya.
- 34. kaifwa; note here, as in kasiwunganina above, the use of the historic narrative tense.
- 35. kalukupona: present continuous tense used idiomatically of a past action. The diminutive Class 13 prefix ka- is here used to emphasise the marvel of the wonderful little youngster carrying out such exploits.
- 36. nekuya kupoka, see No. 29.
- 37. Wacilele mailo apa. This rather cryptic phrase, means that only yesterday he was here in form as a snake, not having been born as a human child.
- 38. musangu, copulative form of umusangu, a noun formed from the ideophone sangu, "of changing, metamorphosis." Born as a snake he changed into a little boy, and the very next day changes into a renowned hunter; therefore his name of "changer."

- 39. cilukuya. In Lamba, Class 7 concord is used idiomatically with a logical subject of another class, when a great number is indicated; the logical subject is here awantu, and the idea of number is emphasised by the addition of the ideophone mpangana mpangana. ([T.L.G. 729].
- 40. **walukupampāla: this is the extensive form of the verb pampa and means to cut up meat on a large scale. The use of the present continuous tense conveys the idea of setting to work.
- 41. mwintowawila, applied form of towāla, the extensive form of towa, "break," meaning "don't break about for me, or to my detriment," don't break about something belonging to me."
- 42. ēli ŵangēŵa: this is an idiomatic narrative construction in Lamba, ēli followed by the conditional mood of the verb; lit. "then it was that he remarked." [T.L.G. 677 (v)].
- 43. pintisya: causative form of pinta has the force of "help to carry," rather than "cause to carry." The ordinary causative force applies almost entirely to causative forms of intransitive verbs in Lamba.
- 44. tulukuya tukōle: the first word is here a continuous present subjunctive, tulukuya or ngatulukuya; this is followed by a future subjunctive, implying that the buying will not take place that same day, as a long journey has to be undertaken; tukōle is tu-ka-ule from the verb ula.
- 45. kunyansi locative of inyansi, an old Lamba word indicating "the sea." According to old fables it is from the sea that come the people who weave cloth, the White people. Hence inyansi is also used for "White men," and has been applied as well to any renowned chief. There is the saying: Mbanawe wemutuwulusi ufibwene kulipi ifyākupelelwa mumo nenyansi? "How can you, a destitute person, find things to compare with a great chief?" The Native fable, alluded to here, is that Natives would take ivory and, placing it on the sand, go away. At night a creature would come out of the sea, take the ivory and put in its place calico, which the Natives would get in the morning. Similar methods of barter are carried out to this day between the Bantu tribes in the Congo and their pigmy neighbours of the great forests, cultivated foods being exchanged for wild game.

- 46. amēno ŵātwala ānsofu: Note the rhetorical way in which the verb is inserted between the noun and its possessive; lit. "tusks they took away of elephants."
- 47. The verb bwela when followed by the locative (uko in this case) means "return from"; the applied form bwelela when followed by the locative means "return to," as at the end of the previous paragraph bwelela kwāwo (return home). [T.L.G. 331].
- 48. The past tense of the verb -ti followed by the subjunctive mood indicates purpose that was almost fulfilled, but not quite, e.g. Wāti wakanjipaye (They meant to kill me; they nearly killed me). [T.L.G. 473].
- 49. Wamwinsyo: Honorific plural. The mwinsyo or mother's brother is the clan representative and wields authority over his sister's children who are of the same clan as himself. In this case Blue-snake acknowledges his uncle's right over the wealth, since it was he who supplied the weapon which killed the elephants whose tusks brought the goods.

3. ICISIMICISYO ICĀMUNTU NEMUKASI WĀKWE

Ālukufwaya-fwaya apākwikala. Aŵakwāŵo ŵōnse wālisilile ukufwa,¹ newakwāŵo umwānakasi. Pōpele cīne wālīmine ŵōŵilo, lomba walukuya kumbi, nekufika pambi pamusi. Ati,² "Mitende wemwāme." Ati, "Mitende Sikulu!" Ati, "Mbōlukuya kulipi?" Ati, "Nāīsa ili mfwaya-fwaya aŵākwēnda⁴ naŵo." Imfumu yāmusi nekwasuka ati, "Kaŵili nanewo aŵantu ēŵo ndukufwaya. Ukēnjile⁵ muyanda yōpelē'yo īli pakati kāmusi." Naye wālīle nekwinjila. Pakwēŵa ati ŵusiku nekuwūlō'mukasi wākwe ati, "Wemukasi wānji, kōti² ndukupamē'cisewa³ ulukulila, tuŵaŵone aŵa-ŵantu, kani walitutemenwe ati tukawalwīle-ko.³ Pōpele cīne āliwūlile necisewa cākwe, lomba ālukupama, umukasi nekulukulila. Kūmfwa umbi āfuma mumusi mōpele umo ati, "Aŵa-wēnsu¹o awāīsa newakasi wāwo wāpulililō'kulukulwa!" Pōpele ālilawīle umwālalume ati, "Wemukasi wānji maīlo tukalukuya ili tufwaya kumbi kumfumu iyele-lwe, iyākuti¹¹ tukalukulwa ŵakēse wakatulamwine-ko."

Põpele cīne pakucō' lucēlo ālīle nekulaya kumfumu. Imfumu nekwasuka ati, "Mbanindo wemwame ulukuya kaŵili?" Naye ālilaŵīle ati, "Kōku Sikulu, ndukuya kumbi kumfumu." Alīmine lomba alukuya.

Pakwēŵa ati āfika kumbi kumfumu, nekumwipusyē' mfumu ati, "Mbawemwāme ulukuya kulipi?" Naye nekwasuka ati, "Nāīsa mōpele muno, Sikulu, ili mfwaya apākwikala." Imfumu yālilaŵīle ati, "Naneŵo ndukufwaya aŵāna." Neŋanda ŵālimupēle. Pakwēŵa ati ŵāmupēle'fyo iŋanda nefyākulya, pakwēŵa ati ŵusiku nekuŵūlē'ciseŵa cākwe, lomba ālukupuma, umukasi lomba ālukulila. Imfumu pakumfwe'fyo yāliŵilicīsye ati, "Lwīlēni-ko umuŵyēnu uyo ulukupumō'mukasi." Pōpele naye pakūmfwe'fyo uyo-mwēnsu, wālilaŵīle kumukasi wākwe ati, "Kuno wemukasi wānji ēŵatutemenwe; to mfwa-ko, ŵalukwīsa mukutulwīla. Akasuŵa tukafītwal wakatulwīla bwāŋgu."

Põpele awasaŋkwa awāmomo-mumusi¹⁷ wālīsile bwāŋgu ati, "Wemwāme tawapamō'mukasi." ¹⁸ Naye ati, "Kōku mwāne, pakuti awakasi tawōmfwa." Wālilawīle nakwe bwīno; pōpele wālukubwelela nakumaŋanda āwo. Uko kwāsyele¹⁹ nemulume wākwe, wōwilo wālisaŋgalele, ati "Mōpele muno-mumusi wemulume wānji twāikala."

3. THE STORY OF A MAN AND HIS WIFE

He was looking for somewhere to live. All his relatives had died, and also the relatives of the woman. So then they both set out, and went elsewhere, and reached a certain village. (The chief) said, "Greeting, friend." He said, "Greeting, Sir!" He said, "Where are you going?" He said, "I have come in search of people with whom to live." And the chief of the village replied, "And I too, it is people whom I require. You must go into that very hut that is in the middle of the village." So he went and entered (it). Now when it was night he told his wife saying, "Wife, when I beat the hide, you cry; and let us see these people whether they love us sufficiently to make peace between us." So indeed he took his hide, and began to beat, and his wife to cry. Thereupon one came out in that very village and said, "This stranger who has come with his wife straightway begins to fight!" Thereupon the man said, "Wife, tomorrow we shall go in search of another chief, a proper one, of such a sort that if we fight, they will come and make peace between us."

So indeed when the morning dawned, he went and bade farewell to the chief. And the chief replied, "Friend, whyever should you be going?" And he said, "No, Sir, I am going elsewhere to another chief." So he arose and went.

Now when he had reached another chief elsewhere, the chief asked him, saying, "Friend, where are you going?" And he replied, "I have come just in here, Sir, in search of a place to stay at." The chief said, "I too need children." And they gave him a hut. Now when they had thus given him a hut and food, and when it was night, he took out his hide, and began to beat, and his wife to cry. When the chief heard that, he shouted, "Make the peace for that fellow of yours who is beating his

wife." So when that stranger heard that, he said to his wife, "Here, wife, it is that they love us; listen, they are coming to make peace between us. On the day that we do get angry they will quickly make peace between us."

Thereupon the young men who belonged to that village came quickly and said, "Friend, you mustn't beat your wife." And he said, "No, Sir, it is because the wife won't listen." They spoke carefully with him, and then went back to their houses. And there where her husband remained, they were both full of joy, and (she) said, "Here in this very village, husband, we remain."

NOTES

- 1. lit. "They had come to an end to die"; this is a usual Lamba idiom.
- 2. Ati. It is usual in Lamba to use ati in this way with the subject to be understood from the context.
- 3. Sikulu has as primary meaning of "grandfather" and "grandmother" (mother's mother only). Its further common indication is as a term of respect to both sexes in authority, i.e. "Sir, Lord, master, mistress."
- 4. a@ākwēnda na@o, lit. " with whom to travel," i.e. with whom to live.
- 5. Ukēnjile is here future subjunctive, and implies something of a command.
- 6. pakati kamusi: alternatively pakati pamusi with locative concord. In this case the concord ka- is derived from the original noun prefix aka- in pakati, which must have been pa + akati. The noun akati is now obsolete, only being found in the locatives pakati and mukati. Cf. Swahili so-called preposition katika with stress on the first syllable; this should be kati ka-, with the ka- concord joined to the succeeding word. [T.L.G. 535].
- 7. kōti is a conjunction generally meaning "as, like, according to." In this context the meaning is rather that of "when"; kōti ati is also used with similar significance.
- 8. icisewa, "hide, animal's skin," is the sleeping mat of stiff hide which the Lamba traveller usually carries with him; when struck it makes a loud sound. The man wished to convey the impression that he was beating his wife.
- 9. lwīla has two main meanings; as applied form of lwa it means "fight for, fight on behalf of, fight at"; the second meaning is "act as

- peace-maker, separate combatants, act as advocate, come to the aid of, help out of danger." In this case *lwīla-ko*, with the enclitic, signifies "make the peace between them."
- 10. Aŵa-wēnsu: honorific plur. for uyu-mwēnsu; evidently the person who "came out" was one of the younger villagers, for him to use this respectful form of speech.
- 11. iyākuti is here used as a conjunction, but has the possessive concord in agreement with imfumu; it carries a superlative idea, i.e. "a chief of such a fine type that"
- 12. kaŵili is an adverb and conjunction formed from the enumerative stem -ŵili (two), and means "again, next, also." In this context it merely indicates intense surprise in the questioner, e.g. Wālaŵilē fyo kaŵili? (Did they actually say that?).
- 13. aŵāna. The warm-hearted character of this second chief is shown by the use of this word. The previous one had used aŵantu; he wanted people or servants. This chief was more typical of what the Lamba admired, the chief who was a "father to his people," who treated his people as "children."
- 14. puma is a much stronger word than pama; while the latter means "strike," puma means "beat, flog, thrash," as well as "thresh corn." Puma has other meanings as well: (a) throb (of pain); (b) cook porridge; (c) sleep well.
- 15. ewatutemenwe: this is a copulative form, short for ēko watutemenwe, lit. "it is here that they love us"; note that the verb form is relative.
- 16. akasuwa tukafitwa: the elliptical relative form for akasuwa ako aka tukafitwa, the demonstrative elements being omitted. Notice that akasuwa (noun meaning "sun, day") is here used adverbially "on the day." [T.L.G. 669].
- 17. $a\hat{w}am\bar{o}mo-mumusi$, Class 18 locative concordial agreement, introduced by the full possessive concord $a\hat{w}\bar{a}$ followed by the modified form of the 2nd demonstrative $m\bar{o}mo$ (< umo).
- 18. tawapamō'mukasi. This 3rd person plural (Class 1) negative construction is used to convey negative axioms, with the force of a negative command, e.g. Tawatuka kwēnu (One doesn't revile your home, i.e. Don't revile your home!) Tawalawila kuwantu (One doesn't tell anybody, or They don't tell anybody, i.e. Don't tell anybody!) [T.L.G. 425 (c)].

- 19. Uko kwāsyele: Note this idiomatic construction, used when resuming a narrative temporarily interrupted by a shifting of scene. From the retiral of the young men there is a return to "where there remained"
- 20. twāikala. This use of the past tense gives the idea that the woman considers that they have already settled down.

4. ICISIMI CAWANTU

Põpele² umwānakasi wālifyele awāna wawili nemwālalume nemwānakasi.³ Põpele inama syönse nensofu,⁴ syönse lukoso inama silukulya⁵ amasaka.⁶ Kūmfwa wānyina wālilawīle ati, "Ukōpa umwāna wānji akaseme⁷ inama syōnse!"

Põpele umwālalume nekwīsa ati ykõpe. ⁸ Kūmfwa ati, "Kani useme inama ukõpa!" Põpele neŵusiku kabwīla, ⁹ lomba alukuya kumaŵala, nekufika muŋanda iyāli kumaŵala. Põpele neŵusiku kabwīla, ŵõmfwe¹⁰ inama syāīsa isyākuti ubwīnji neŋkalamu. Põpele umwālalume katīna inama, nekufika kumusi. Kūmfwa ati, "Nindo?" Ati, "Inama syāŵuluma¹² isyākuti ubwīnji!" Kūmfwa ati, "Kōya! kansi¹³ tōkōpa¹⁴ umwāna wēsu!" Lomba alukuya.

Kuwona naumbi āīsa. Ati, "Nindo?" "Nāīsa mukūpa¹¹ umwāna wēnu." Pōpele kawepaya insumbi¹³ nekwipika, nensima¹¹ kawananya.¹² Kūmfwa ati, "Mulye insumbi." Kūmfwa ākāna. Nekuwūlē'mpwa,¹³ ēsi angalya.²⁰ Pakwēwa ati icingulo lomba ālukuya kumawala²¹ ati tukaseme²² inama. Pakwāti²³ uwusiku womfwe syāīsa. Kapusyo'mufwi munanda²⁴ kalawila ati, "Kani uli muntu, asuka!" Kūmfwa celele.²⁵

Põpele umufwi kaulasa munıma syönse, umufwi umo. Kaulukubwela umufwi ēŋka,²⁸ kawinjila. Kausipila neŋkamfi,²⁷ põpele kautola. Pakwāti lucēlo, ati ēsule-ko kumulyaŋgo umukasi,²⁸ kusaŋgana syönse syāfwē'nama. Lomba alukuya umukasi mukupoka ŵanyina kumusi, ati, "Mama, tamuka-cone²⁹ inama ifi syāfwa!" Lomba ŵalukwīsa, kusaŋgana cīne syāfwa.

Lomba valukwīta⁸⁰ awantu wonse ati, "Tamupampe inama." Nekwīsa awantu, wasangane syāfwa. Lomba walukupampa, nekutwala kumusi ifinani. Kawili, pakwāti uwusiku, omfwe syāīsa isyākuti ubwīnji inama. Kawili kaupusya umufwi munanda, kaulasa munama syōnse. Pakwāti lucēlo asangane syāfwa, lomba alukuya mukupoka awantu ati wapampe inama syōnse. Nekufika awantu, lomba walukupampa, nekutwala mumananda āwo.

Pakwāti uŵusiku⁸² nyina-fyala⁸³ ati, "Ndōyu-muko⁸⁴ alukwipaya svāni inama?" Nekufumō'ŵusiku ŵanyina-fyala, lomba ŵalukuya.

Wõmfwe uŵusiku ŵalukwīsa ili ŵapolokosa, 35 ati ŋkaŵone-po ifi alukwipa-ye'nama. 36 Umuko nekulaŵila ati, "Niwenani?" Ukwasuka, tau. 37 Kalaŵila ati, "Kani uli muntu, asuka! Neŵo ndalasa, ndaŵepusya!" Ukwasuka tau. Kapōsa umufwi, kauŵalasa ŵanyina-fyala, nekufwa kaŵafwa.

Pakwāti lucēlo, ati esule-ko umwāna⁴⁰ wāŵo, asaŋgane niŵanyina⁴¹ ŵāfwa. Lomba alukulila. Kūmfwa umuko walaŵila ati, "Nindo ulukulila, mukasi?" Nekwasuka ati, "Ndukulila ŵamama⁴² ŵāfwa." Umuko nekulaŵila ati, "Ne⁴³ nālukwipusya ati, 'Niwenani?' Ukwasuka ŵāŵa."⁴⁴ Kūmfwa umulamu⁴⁵ wākwe ati, "Naweŵo tulukwipaya,⁴⁶ pakuti wāipaya ŵamama!" Kūmfwa umuko wālaŵila ati, "Ŵētēni aŵantu ŵōnse, ŵōmfwe-po!"⁴⁷ Nekuŵēta. Imfumu syōnse ati, "Nindo mwātwītila?"⁴⁸ Kūmfwō'muko alaŵila ati, "Wanjipaye!" Kūmfwa imfumu syālaŵila ati, "Tēkwipayō'muko, pakuti wāsemē'nama syōnse."

Lomba⁴⁹ umuko alukuya kwāŵo nekufika kumukalo⁵⁰ ū ŵanwa-mo amēnda, nekwaluka ninama. Pōpele aŵantu,⁵¹ ati tukatape amēnda kumukalo, ŵasangane wāfwa, āluka ninama umuntu. Lomba ŵalukuya kumusi ati, "Twātolē'nama!" Kansi muntu uwāfwa. Lomba ŵalukuya neŵālalume ati tukapampē'nama ŵātola,⁵² nekufika nekupampa, nekulēta kumusi ati tutūle⁵³ ifinani mufipanda⁵⁴ fyēsu, ŵaŵone aŵēne ŵāmusi ŵālemuka muŋouŵo; ⁵⁵ kuŵona ŵōnse ŵāfūla. Eli ŵaŋgaya mukupoka umulaye ati atuŵuke⁵⁶ ifi twāfūla. Eli aŋgēsa umulaye nekuŵuka ati Muntu ŵātamfisya-po kumusi ēwuyu āluka ninama. Lomba ifinani kafialuka muntu; lomba alukuya kwāŵo umuntu, nekufika kumusi wāŵo. Lomba cāsila.

4. A STORY CONCERNING PEOPLE

Now a woman bare two children, a boy and a girl. And all the animals, even elephants and every kind of animal were eating the corn. Then the mother said, "He who will marry my child must drive off all the animals."

Then a man came in order to marry. They said, "If you scare off the animals, you will marry!" And then night fell, and he went to the gardens, and reached the hut that was in the gardens. And then night fell, and lo the animals came in enormous numbers and lions (as well). Then the man was afraid of the animals, and reached the village. And they said, "What is the matter?" He said, "The animals in tremendous numbers came menacingly." And they said, "Go! You won't marry our child then!" So off he went.

And then another came. They said, "What is it?" "I have come to marry your child." Thereupon they killed a fowl and cooked (it), and prepared thick porridge. Then they said, "Eat the fowl." But he refused. And he took up capsicums, and these are what he ate. Now when it was evening, off he went to the fields in order to scare off the animals. Now when it was night, lo, they came. And he sent an arrow through the wall, and said, "If you are a person, answer!" But there was silence.

Then the arrow pierced all the animals, a single arrow. And back comes the arrow alone, and it entered. And he spat chewed leaves upon it, and then he picked it up. And when it was morning, and when his wife opened the door, lo all the animals were dead. Then off goes his wife to fetch her mother from the village, saying, "Mother, just come and see how the animals have died!" And she comes, and lo for sure they are dead.

Then she calls all the people saying, "Come and cut up the animals." And the people came and found (the animals) dead. So they set about cutting up, and carried the meat to the village. Again, when it was night, he heard the animals in great numbers come. And again he sent the arrow through the house, and it pierced all the animals. And when it was morning he found them dead, and off he goes to fetch people that they might cut up all the animals. And the people arrived, and set about cutting up, and conveying to their houses.

Now when it was night his mother-in-law said, "What about this son-in-law, how does he kill animals?" And his mother-in-law went out at night, and off she went. And at night he heard her coming stumping along, intending to see how he kills animals. The son-in-law said, "Who are you?" There was no answer. And he said, "If you are a person, reply! As for me, I pierce when I have asked them!" There was no reply. And he shot the arrow, and it pierced his mother-in-law, and she died indeed.

Now when it was morning, when her daughter opened the door, she came upon her mother dead. And she began to wail. Then the son-in-law said, "Why are you crying, wife?" And she replied, "I am crying (because) my mother is dead." And the son-in-law said, "As for me, I asked saying, 'Who are you?' But she did not reply." Thereupon his brother-in-law said, "Now as for you, we are going to kill you, because you have killed my mother!" Thereupon the son-in-law said, "Summon everybody, and let them hear about it!" And they called them. All the chiefs said, "Why have you called us?" Then the son-

in-law said, "Let them kill me!" But the chiefs said, "Don't kill the son-in-law, because he has driven off all the animals."

Thereupon the son-in-law goes home and reaches the well in which they drink water, and changes into an animal. Then the people, when they went to draw water from the well, found him dead; the person had changed into an animal. So off they went to the village and said, "We have found a buck!" And all the time it is a person who is dead. So they go with men to cut up the animal they have found; and they arrive and cut it up, and bring (it) to the village in order to put the meat down in their hunting shrines, when they find that the village heads are weighed down in their clothes; and lo, all remove their clothing. Then it is that they go to fetch a diviner that he might divine as to why they have had to take off their clothes. Then it is that the diviner comes and divines that it is the person which they have driven from the village, it is this one who has changed into an animal. Thereupon the meat changed back into a person; and the person went off home, and reached his village.

So it is finished

NOTES

- 1. Icisimi, "story" (also "proverb") has the same meaning as the more common term icisimicisyo, for a folk-tale.
- 2. Popele: the narrator of this story favours the use of the introductory popele for "then, thereupon, and." Elsewhere his choice of words shews Wulima influence. Certain of the Eastern Lamba use the conjunction pēyka, used also by the Maswaka and Lala people. The Western Lamba are sometimes nicknamed Wapopele, because of their constant use of this conjunction, just as the Nyanja are called Wandipo, the Lala Wapeyka, and the Sotho tribes Ma'aoa and Ma'che. Cf. Langue D'oc and Langue D'oil.
- 3. nemwālalume nemwānakasi, lit. both a male person and a female person.
- 4. nensofu: Here the na- has the force of "even," one of the biggest and most fearsome of the animals being mentioned.
- 5. silukulya: the present continuous tense is here used idiomatically in a past narrative, much as in English idiom "and they eat."
- 6. amasaka: this is the common "sorghum" or "kafir-corn," the staple crop of the Lamba.
- 7. sema, "scare away" or "drive off" is used in connection with protecting crops from the larger depredators such as monkeys,

- wild pigs, bush-buck, etc. For bird-scaring the word amina is used. In addition to this idea of shouting to scare away, sema means (1) utter the cry of triumph on killing a man or an elephant and (2) give birth.
- 8. ati ykōpe: Notice the use of the 1st person form of direct speech, lit. "a man came in order that I may marry" (vb. ūpa). This is more distinctly Lamba idiom than the alternative ati ope (that he might marry).
- 9. kabwīla: Historic tense of verb ila, the applied form of ya (go).

 In this instance it is used with the subject uŵusiku and means
 "come over, fall" of night or darkness.
- 10. **confive**, subjunctive with Class 2 concord, lit. that they hear; here used interjectionally equivalent to " and lo!"
- 11. nindo? What is it? or What is the matter? Indo is an interrogative noun of Class 9, used in the singular only and commonly after verbs, when coalescence occurs, e.g. Ulukufwayē'ndo? (What do you want?) Nindo is its copulative form; locatives are pando, kundo and mundo; and the possessive stem is -āndo, resulting in such forms as fyāndo? wāndo? [T.L.G. 685].
- 12. *ôuluma*, meaning originally "growl," "roar," has acquired the significance of menacing, coming threateningly, and is applied to disaster, famine, etc., e.g. *Insala yāŵuluma* (Famine has reached dangerous proportions).
- 13. kansi is a very idiomatic adverb and conjunction, indicating "naturally, whereas, when all the time," e.g. Kansi ēpo mwāli? (Were you there all the time then?) [T.L.G. 571].
- 14. $t\bar{o}k\bar{o}pa$, i.e. $ta + u + ka + \bar{u}pa$, 2nd pers. sing. remote future tense of $\bar{u}pa$ (marry).
- 15. mukūpa: locative (Class 18) of the Class 15 noun (infinitive of ūpa) indicating purpose: "in order to marry." [T.L.G. 722-3].
- 16. insumbi: Lamba does not use the typical Bantu word from the stem -kuku or -koko and is isolated in the use of this word for "fowl."
- 17. insima: the thick porridge or pap made from the staple sorghum (amasaka). Insima is also made from amatawa (maize) and amawo (eleusine). Lumps of insima are eaten when dipped into a relish pot of gravy or some tasty meat or vegetable relish (ifyākutowela).

- 18. nanya, "stir while cooking," the technical term used in the preparation of insima.
- 19. impwa, pl. of ulupwa, the fruit of the thorny umupwa bush, whose fruit, red with a bitter taste, resemble the capsicum; they are used as a vegetable when cooked.
- 20. angalya: Note the expressive use of this conditional mood tense here.
- 21. amaŵala: The iŵala is the large cultivated field in which sorghum and mealies are grown. The South African term "lands" expresses the same idea.
- 22. ati tukaseme: Note the use of direct construction, lit. "He was going to the fields in order that we might scare off the animals."
- 23. Pakwāti is Ŵulima contraction for the composite conjunction pakwētôā'ti, "when."
- 24. Kapusyō'mumfwi munanda: pusya is the contr. caus. of pula, pass through, pierce; munanda, lit. "out from the house," means through some interstice of the wall. The use of mu- (Cl. 18) indicates motion from within outwards.
- 25. celele, ideophone of silence, e.g. ukwikala celele, to sit quite quiet.

 Also used as an interjection, celele ! "Silence! Be quiet!"
- 26. ēŋka is the form for Class 1, for Class 3 in agreement with umufwi this should read wēŋka. Probably a copyist's error.
- 27. sipila neykamfi: to spit upon with chewed leaves. Here iykamfi acts as a charm to render the arrow harmless to its master until sent again on an errand of killing. In the story of "Mr. Lion and Mr. Little-hare" (Icisimicisyo icāŴaykalamu naŴakalulu, XXXV, p. 76 of "Lamba Folk-lore," Amer. Folk-Lore Society, 1927), the little hare squirts chewed leaves (kakafūsa-ko iykamfi) on the rock to make the lion think it had passed through his entrails.
- 28. As is often the case with Lamba folk-tales certain things are taken for granted. It was not mentioned that the girl went with him to the hut in the fields, whereas here she is described as opening the hut door in the morning; and she is further described as his wife, an anticipation, as he was to clear the fields before obtaining his wife. In Lamba logic future events are often anticipated to make the narrative more dramatic.
- 29. tamukawone: Note the hortative use of the auxiliary ta- used with the future subjunctive, conveying an urgent excited command.

- This is not to be confused with the negative auxiliary ta-. [T.L.G. 423 (c)].
- 30. **Class 2.** It is not clear whether this refers to the mother or to her and her daughter, or a general plural, "they call."
- 31. ukupampa inama: pampa is the term used for dismembering and cutting up joints for distribution or for drying. Inama has two meanings: (i) animal, buck, game; (ii) meat (=ifinani).
- 32. i.e. the third night.
- 33. nyina-fyala: the marriage is now taken for granted and the terms nyina-fyala and umuko used.
- 34. ndōyu: Ŵulima dialect form for mboyu, using the Ŵulima ndafor the Lamba interrogative prefix mba-. [T.L.G. 598, 690-1].
- 35. Capolokosa: relative conjugation form after the conjunction ili

 Polokosa is derived from the ideophone polokoso, indicative of
 the heavy walk of the elephant, e.g. Nikunsofu silukwīsa polokoso
 polokoso (It was elephants coming with heavy tread). The use
 of the verb polokosa in reference to the mother-in-law is
 definitely insulting.
- 36. lit. "saying (or intending) that I may see these things which he kills animals." Note the use of the direct first person form; also the use of ifi in an indefinite relative construction, e.g. ifi tulu-kufwaya, what we want; ifi twāseka, how we laughed.
- 37. lit. "To answer (or answering), no!"
- 38. lit. "I pierce (or wound), I ask them." Both tenses are habitual, but the intent is obviously that the second is subordinated in time.
- 39. nekufwa. The idiomatic use of the infinitive accompanying a finite tense is emphatic: ukufwa kaŵafwa, dying she died.
- 40. umwāna, lit. child (of either sex). Lamba has no distinctive words for "son" and "daughter"; in order to be explicit, the phrases umwāna umwālalume (male child) and umwāna umwāna-kasi (female child) are used respectively.
- 41. asangane niwanyina (or in full nikuli wanyina) is an idiom using a copulative following a conjunction, the copulative of the locative form being more usual; e.g. kusangana nikunkalamu (and there was a lion!); lomba nikumusi (and lo it was (or we were) at the village). [T.L.G. 487 (iii)].

- 42. ukulila ŵamama. The verb lila (wail, cry) takes a direct object of the person mourned, and has the secondary meaning of "wail for, mourn."
- 43. Ne is a contracted form of newo, here used as emphatic pronoun. This contracted form is commonly used as a pronominal prefix, e.g. nemuntu (I, a person), nemwine (I myself), neyka (I only), newaswe (not I!), etc. [T.L.G. 254].
- 44. ພິລັໜິລ, negative pronominal copulative of Class 2, "not they," e.g. Taໜີāficile ພິລັໜິລ (They did not arrive, not they), or Wo ukufika ພິລັໜິລ, or simply Ukufika ພິລັໜິລ. [T.L.G. 516].
- 45. umulamu wākwe: The brother-in-law, the girl's brother, now assumes the role of clan protector. There is no mention of a brother to the woman who has been killed; her son, belonging to her clan, assumes the important position occupied in the Lamba family by the maternal uncle (mwinsyo).
- 46. The present tense used with close future meaning: the process of killing is set in motion by the very intention expressed.
- 47. womfwe-po: the use of the enclitic here is instead of repeating the whole phrase pamulandu or pacēwo (concerning the affair). [See also T.L.G. 610].
- 48. nindo mwātwītila? Nindo with the applied form of the verb is the common construction for indicating the question "why?"

 This is literally, "It is what for which you have called us?"

 But the simple form of the verb is also used with the same force, see (above in this paragraph) Nindo ulukulila? instead of Nindo ulukulila? [T.L.G. 685].
- 49. The Council of chiefs has saved his life but merely because he has been a benefit to the community: they have not exonerated him from blame, nor apportioned the blame to the inquisitive mother-in-law. The court proceedings are not described in this story; but merely the finding. The son-in-law, to show his chagrin goes off to commit suicide, but does so in a magical way. He has the power of transformation into some animal, evidently an antelope.
- 50. umukalo, well or water-hole usually dug in the plain bordering the river. The son-in-law chooses a place of privacy in the heat of the day where he would be sure to be found as soon as the women came to draw water in the afternoon.

- 51. awantu, "people," must here signify "women," because they have to report the find of meat for the village men to come and dismember.
- 52. inama wātola: This is an example of relative construction with complete ellipsis. The full form is inama iyo iyi wātola (with two demonstratives); with relative concord the form is inama iwātola; but in the case in this text there is complete ellipsis of demonstrative or relative reference, lit. "the animal they have found." [T.L.G. 669].
- 53. tutule and fyesu: Note the use of the direct construction of the 1st person, so favoured in fluent Lamba; lit. "in order that we may put the meat down in our hunting shrines."
- 54. icitanda, an erection of umusālya branches set up near a hunter's hut, on which is hung a calabash dedicated to kāluwe, the guardian spirit of animals. Hunting offerings and trophies, especially skulls and horns, are stuck on the icipanda poles and hunting dances held around it. [See The Lambas of Northern Rhodesia, by C. M. Doke, pp. 325-6].
- 55. This is a common occurrence in Bantu folk-lore; when a spell is laid upon a person or a community, the clothing becomes too heavy to wear, or sometimes the limbs too heavy to permit of walking. Cf. the Zulu tale uMaßejana (recorded by J. Stuart in uThulasizwe, p. 35) where the chief under the spell cries Ngisindwa ibeshu, "I am weighed down with my buttock-skin," and later Ngisindwa umzimba wami, "I am weighed down with my body," before eventually turning into a black bull.
- 56. wuka, "divine, exorcise," must be carefully distinguished by its short vowel from wūka, "wake up, get up."

SOME ASPECTS OF LOVHEDU JUDICIAL ARRANGEMENTS

By J. D. KRIGE

[Note: This article was delivered as a public lecture under the auspices of the Witwatersrand University Department of Bantu Studies. with whose concurrence it is here reproduced. Its original title, "Some Aspects of Native Law," has been altered to bring it into closer relation with the subject matter, which dealt with only a few types of judicial situation, not with legal rules, and was explicitly confined to the Lovhedu of the far N.E. Transvaal, among whom my wife and I had done some field work for the International Institute of African Languages and Cultures. But the form and even phraseology of the lecture have been retained, a few explanatory footnotes being the only addition. Even for the limited aspects with which a public lecture can adequately cope, there are many omissions; for the main object was to stress, by suggestion and comparisons with our law, the spirit permeating Lovhedu judicial procedure. I intended, not to enunciate rules of substantive law, but to suggest the background of general principles, wider than and often overriding legal rule, flexible yet firm as the institutions supporting them, and above all preserving the sense of security of the people. Apparent irregularities are rooted in regularities, of an order different from ours and easily mistaken for corruption. Hence the insistence upon an orientation which is at once functional and relativistic, upon the danger of our overlooking that where there are (as is usually the case) both legal and other issues in a case, the legal need not in every society be the paramount issue, and upon their tragic misinterpretation of our legal system.]

THE ANGLE OF APPROACH

Law is like an organism; it lives and functions in the medium of the society in which it has evolved and to the needs of which it has adjusted itself. In one social environment it is like a fish adapted to a submarine existence, in another like a bird fitted for an aerial life. To judge the effectiveness of fins as if they were organs of flight is as mistaken as to regard Native Law in terms of our legal conceptions. In two societies with different structures, law as well as other cultural phenomena, will take different forms; they are in harmony with their cultural environment and we can understand them only relatively to that environment. Relatively to our standpoint, Native religion is savage superstition, Native

wedlock degrading wife-purchase. We even fashion Freudian garments for their uncensored nakedness. The conclusion is obvious: we need a theory of relativity in regard to cultural phenomena to help us avoid these mistakes and to correct our perspective.

Native Law cast in our moulds loses its shape and its plasticity, and hardens to inflexible steel. No wonder it has suffered distortion in our text-books. They have abstracted legal rules without giving the context in which Native courts apply them; they have fitted them into our own legal framework; they have dissected the fins of the fish and found them anatomically like the wings of the bird. As a result Native Law in our text-books is like a fish out of water. And the test that it is dead is this: you may learn your books by heart, but you will fail to settle a single Native case correctly according to their standards. The bare legal principle is only one factor in the situation. More often than not it must give way to what is far more important than legal principle, that is, to the friendly readjustment of the disputing parties. The great aim is not to adjudicate upon conflicting rights according to strict law, but to use the principles of justice wisely in order to effect a reconciliation and to reestablish good relations. Legal principle is thus not absolute; it is subservient to the human situation; and man is not made for law, but law for man. And so, however well-versed you may be in Native Law, you are liable to give a bad judgment unless you know how legal principles can be put into the service, not of deciding rights so much, as of bringing about a happy solution of the dispute, a solution acceptable to all concerned.

I speak with some feeling on this subject. I came to the Lovhedu with some knowledge of Native Law and six years experience at the Johannesburg Bar. I watched many cases in the field, uneasily and with conflicting emotions, unwilling to surrender my belief in the sanctity of legal rules yet unable to adjust myself to a situation in which continuous disregard of legal principle evoked no comment and produced no anarchy. At times I decided that Native Law was chaotic, full of inconsistencies, utterly corrupt. I saw how the cruel husband, whose illtreated wife had deserted him, sometimes lost, sometimes got back his munywalo¹ cattle; how security of land tenure was often but not always upheld; how a headman's (legôta) conduct in expelling a subject was now applauded, now reproved.² Such cases I discussed at length with the judges, exasperated

¹ Munywalo, i.e. lobola, bride-price.

² These cases reflect "irregularities" as far as strict law but not as far as social justice is concerned. They are in fact perfectly "regular," though it is a different kind of regularity from ours.

by their innocence and my inability to discover the legal principle that differentiated the cases. Justice, I concluded, was arbitrary and corrupt. Yet the corruption, if such it was, seemed to operate in a manner even more unintelligible than the decisions, for it was indifferent to the relative wealth or influence or rank or position of the parties. Moreover, the society was orderly, the legal machinery worked smoothly, and people had more confidence in their courts than either we or they have in ours. If legal principles were divorced from reality, out of harmony with life, why did we not find many criminals and misfits, the products of frustration and maladjustment? This is disconcerting, but if I may misquote, "the fault, dear Brothers, lies both in ourselves and in our stars that we are undone:" in ourselves, because we project our standards and our legal system as inevitable; in our stars, because strict order is the law of our, not their, universe.1

To correct our perspective, we propose to-night to approach Native Law, not by way of its principles, but by taking as our starting point the atmosphere of Native courts. This will help to orientate us; it will enable us to recapture something of the spirit of Native Law; and from it will emerge aspects of Native Law which may be contrasted with our law. We shall finally have time merely to turn to a slight consideration of the angle from which some problems of procedure and evidence are tackled.

THE ATMOSPHERE OF THE KHORO

The atmosphere of the courts reflects some essential features of Native Law. It is unrestrained, softened by humanity, and genial. The venue is the khôrô, which is the courtyard of the village, the place where men sit around the fire to gossip, and the playground of the children. The judges, if we may so call the men who more or less casually assemble, are no different from other men. Yet, since youth, they have been interested in public life, they have listened to countless cases, taking a more and more active part in the proceedings as their knowledge and

¹ How ignomineously I was undone, the following will illustrate. Invited to settle a petty theft case, I decided against and fined the younger of two brothers. The court and the prisoner and his father deferentially accepted my judgment. A few weeks later the headman who had invited me called to say that, as the men had felt uneasy about my decision, they had gone to a diviner. The diviner decided against the elder brother, giving such good reasons that they convinced me. I had had all the evidence before me, the diviner none. Deductions from evidence without an understanding of the interplay of motives in the society would seem to be a poor match for "smelling out" based on knowledge of the society!

wisdom matured. As youths, they were messengers of the court; as young men, they were given simple cases to handle; as middle-aged men, they took part with others in more important cases; as old men, they become "mothers," i.e. responsible intermediaries, who receive the cases before they come to court (and perhaps effect reconciliations out of court); as very old men, they may occasionally be consulted by the court. The men of the court have not tasted but drunk deep "the soup of the law." It is at no far off, exalted Pierian spring, but of the homely product of the kitchen that they drink their learning. The whole setting is easy, comfortable, mellow. Great ones there are, but no one is the special judge and anyone of the fifty or more men may utter the happy phrase, upon which, as they express it, they all "jump" as providing the solution to the problem.

The procedure is not trammelled by precise rules, the time of begining and ending a sitting is indeterminate, the cases are taken in any order. There is no witness box, no prisoner's dock; the parties are often mingled with the judges. The complainant opens, the defendant replies, but thereafter no particular order of witnesses is followed. Soon the discussion becomes so general, so many discrete and more or less personal arguments break out in various quarters, so much else happens to distract attention, that an untrained European easily loses the thread of the proceedings. There are children playing, silenced for a moment only to renew their din undaunted; now and then an old man plying his craft—making a mat or a basket—interjects a remark, perhaps deliberately expectorating to facilitate thought; a visitor appears, there are greetings all round, the case is explained to him, his opinion is asked and he may settle the dispute; and—from the neighbouring yards gossip drifts over to remind the men that legal sophistry is out of place.

Though there is someone, a councillor or headman, in charge, anyone may make the actual decision accepted by the court; and a feature, incredible to us, but suggestive of their outlook, is that a defendant, found guilty in one case, might take a prominent part in judging the next. Thus, as I have seen, Ngwagu, who was found guilty of adultery in the first case one morning, took the lead in the second, also one of adultery. He assessed the guilt, moralized on the iniquity of the offence, and with the approval of the court, which a moment before had reprimanded him, settled the case. These curious situations are not considered strange and evoke no comment; for the penitent criminal is not branded, nor the occasional transgressor outcasted, and "the law," in Native phraselogy,

¹ Vha nwile muro wa mulao; they have drunk the soup of the law and have become steeped in the wisdom required for settling cases.

"does not eat the-man-who-says-I-shall-pay." If even, as they say, the wicked may enter the gôma," a sacred activity, how can they be excluded from the worldliness of the court?

THE NATURE OF A JUDGMENT

The decision of a Native court is unlike anything we are familiar with. It is of a piece with the rest of their legal arrangements. You cannot disarticulate it, tear it from its trunk, and graft it into a socket of our legal body-unless you are constructing a Frankenstein monster. A decision is not a final, definitive judgment. It issues not so much from a judge as from a general sentiment. You cannot capture it in words, for there is no deliberate summing up, no specific moment when it was enunciated. The judicial situation calls not for a clear-cut judgment-for they rough hew rather than finely dissect-but for an agreed formula not so much expressed in set terms as sensed in common attitudes and sentiments. The men "chew" the matter, some this way, some that. From diverse ruminations emerge diverse conclusions, but there is no machinery for reducing them to uniformity—and no need, for the merit of an opinion lies not in silencing a contrary opinion, but in effecting a compromise. The decision is adjusted to the human, not the legal situation.

The reactions to a decision would shock a European, for apparently unlimited licence is allowed a dissatisfied party: he may harangue the court and even refuse to accept its ruling. Such a situation is difficult to recapture, but it is so much in the spirit of their law that I venture to give an example, even at the risk of being misunderstood. Mudziri, the defendant, refused to accede to a decision awarding Manala some cattle. The case "was finished," but he continued to argue. A chorus of derision greeted his plea that he was unable to pay. He then began an excited harangue, restating his case and abusing the plaintiff, and ended with the challenge "I'm damned if I'll pay a thing I don't know. You can do as you please." As he spoke, a running commentary issued from the fringes of the court; "you're a thief" said some, "you're despising the court" came from others; and Manala (the plaintiff) intervening, shouted, "those cattle in your kraal, I know them. They're mine. I

¹ Muladu a u li gi-a-lefha. The mere agreement to pay the fine imposed rehabilitates a man; the court may even reprimand an impatient creditor who complains that the promise will never be fulfilled.

⁸ Khifhude gômene u a dzêna, literally, "the wrecker who spoils things enters the gôma." Gôma is a term used in connection with such activities as the circumcision school and initiation into the great tribal secrets.

⁸ Kukuna, literally, gnaw, nibble at.

will take them by force." But the main body of the court affected not to notice the turmoil. At last Mudziri, exhausted by his outburst and worn down by the weight of opposition, seized his stick, and, still grumbling and offensive as he stalked out of the khôrô, he hurled back his final shaft: "none of you can kill the cattle in my list; and as for me I'm off to work on a farm." The court consoled itself and Manala with the remark that Mudziri would listen in the end, as actually did happen some months later. Mudziri reargued his case, struggled and expostulated but agreed to pay and did pay.

Expostulation and invective are not unusual at the end of a case; they disturb some of the men, but the serenity of the majority shows, not the weakness, but the strength of their position. Despite the apparent flaunting of its authority, the court achieves its purpose, and the confidence of the people in it remains unshaken. It may be defeated to-day, but the institutional (we cannot say legal) fibre of the people makes it triumphant in the end. Vituperation and expostulation are considered, not so much disruptive forces threatening order and authority, as subjective symptoms which in different cases require different handling. They may be mere effervescence, a letting off of steam from a safety valve; and so the licence is allowed. But if the court senses a real grievance, it takes up the matter again, re-opens the case and brings its original decision more in harmony with an acceptable solution. There is more than meets the eye in these situations; and in handling their psychological aspects, I need hardly urge, the legal mind might cut a sorry figure.

If the court hardly ever protects its dignity by rules against contempt, it is equally not afraid to admit being "overcome" (i sidilwe) by the case. In such a situation you may see the men, one by one, almost surreptitiously slipping out of the $kh\delta r\delta$. They are tired of the obstinacy of the parties and hint that it would be better if they returned on some other occasion in a more accommodating mood. Or, the court advises the parties to go aside and privately discuss their differences. The parties then retire to the "dung of the dogs" where, as the phrase

¹ Each man has his own list of cattle for dipping purposes, and "to kill in a list" means to remove from, to wipe off, the list, which is a complicated matter, normally requiring the assent of the owner.

The court usually ignores indignities; but if its authority, which is the authority of old men, is vilified (hu nyaja) by a young man or woman, it may take measures which humiliate rather than punish. The offender is made to sweep the khôrô, to hoe a few square yards, or to carry stones. A woman after some bitter tears, a man after being mercilessly ridiculed, usually submits even before the work is begun, unable to bear the humiliation.

Matsipeni a dimpya, literally, "the excrements of the dogs."

suggests, they need not feel restrained by the ordinary decencies of controversy. If a reconciliation ensues, the court not only rejoices but watches from afar, vicariously participating in, the return of the prodigal son, the wrongdoer, with the beer he has brewed and brought to become reconciled with his father, the aggrieved party.¹

In a word, a satisfactory judgment is a complicated matter. It is concerned, not with unravelling fine-spun legal tangles, but with reconciliation broad-based on human nature. Its legal aspect is less important than its human aspect, and knowledge of human nature, not legal acumen, is the first requisite.

In this homely, conciliatory atmosphere, where mothers suckle babes and toddlers run about from plaintiff to defendant to be admired and fondled, there is still one final touch which characteristically rounds off the case. The defendant has at last brought the three goats he had to pay. He says, "the three goats, there they are." The plaintiff signifies satisfaction. An old man interjects, "that fat one with black spots, set it aside as the goat of shaking beards." For truly their chins have wagged, they have "chewed" the matter for long, they have spoken many words—but it has not been in vain. They will all join the feast and, with friend and foe partaking, who can doubt the efficacy of the justice that has been meted out?

THE CONTRAST WITH EUROPEAN JUSTICE

Let us, by way of contrast, contemplate the majesty and sublimity of our courts. We behold, not the friendly khôro where the open air dispels legal dialectics, but the architectural grandeur of our palaces of justice, musty with learning, writhing in the toils of sophistry. The law of the khôrô is exalted in its simplicity; our law is immense in its majesty. Every Native is realistically presumed to know the law; but our law is a mystery to the ordinary man and a fetish to the lawyer. Its solemn procedure moves on like a ceremonial rite, inexorably; mercy "droppeth as the gentle rain from heaven" not from the "scepter'd sway" of justice. Instead of the easiness and warmth that thaw hostility in the khôrô, we have the icy "silence in the court" and an atmosphere rarified with sanctity, which we dread to defile. Even in their details,

This reversal of the Biblical theme stresses the supreme virtue of reconciliation. It often happens that a deserting wife, who had already made good her wrong by returning to her husband, is ordered to brew beer for him and a member of the court usually attends the beer party to set the seal of society upon the reunion.
2 "Budi ya masikinya-dêdu," the goat of shaking beards.

our courts conform to the pattern of ritualized austerity: the black robe symbolizes dignity as the vivid crimson presages the awful death sentence; authority is upheld by rules against contempt; the oath implies a divine sanction, and even the ritual victim, segregated in the dock, is impersonalized as "prisoner number three." It is clear that we are on holy ground, in a presence which inspires awe and reverence, not in the mundane khôrô, bursting our sides at the joke that settled the last case.

This picture may appear curious; it is very real to the Native who is the ritual victim in our courts. He stands baffled by their awesomeness and incomprehensibility. His rambling statements are cut short by the command to ask questions; the surroundings are strange and the witness-box a death trap; and from the moment of his arrest to the end of his trial he lives through a nightmare. He experiences a dread which he can describe in terms of only one parallel—the dread of suddenly realizing that he is assailed by witchcraft.¹ But there is this difference: against witchcraft he can invoke magic and regain his sense of security; against the awful incomprehensibility of our courts he is powerless.

These contrasts in approach and attitude have their origin, not in different mental equipments, but in the divergent histories and patterns of the two societies. In the early period of our law, the ordinary man above all needed security against the mighty, and when the king asserted his power over intractable nobles, legal justice was identified with social justice; it was elevated to sublimity. But in Native society the mighty cannot oppress the weak, for the instruments and incentives of oppression are lacking. There are no great landowners, no marked differences of wealth, no class of serfs. The society is heirarchical, but rank implies no inequalities of note; it has a firm structure in which each man's place is defined. It is co-operative; aggressive exploitation cannot thrive in its midst. Masters and servants in our sense do not exist; even royalty itself must solicit labour with entertainments and beer parties.² Where the weak are protected, not by law, but by the firm structure which defines their position, where institutional arrangements erect barriers

¹ The manner in which witches assail their victims is aptly described in the phrase, "vha dio mu khôkhôvhêja," they (the witches) give him the last fatal stab. Khôkhôvhêja is also used to describe the blow with which a sick animal, too weak to walk, is put to death. The victim's feelings on being attacked are phrased as "u badagile," he is frantically nervous or "u phuphuruwa," he is paralysed with terror (as when suddenly coming upon a lion). And these are the words used to depict the sensations of a Native in the dock of a European court.

² It is interesting to observe that musumo wa musada u vhulaya lesilu, labour for the chief kills only the fool.

against exploitation, where reciprocity and mutual helpfulness are the only means by which a man can live, if he wishes to live at all, undue homage to legality is unnecessary.

Nor is certainty—the mother of our deference to formal law supremely important in Native society. In the pattern of our society, certainty requires justice according to law, even at the price of exaggerating the virtue of technicalities. We accept that in our courts we cannot always have social justice. Hard cases, we say, make bad law; we steel ourselves against tenderness for the hardship of the unwitting offender, lest exceptions upset the certainty of law and that elegant symmetry which guarantees security. We demand impartiality in our judges, but in our law-makers we condone Machiavellian diplomacy; for bad law well administered has the virtue of certainty, but good law badly administered is vitiated by uncertainty. But in Native society legalism is not worshipped, justice according to law is not elevated to a fetish. For their requirements are different. Certainty and security they must have, but of an order more like that of our everyday arrangements than that of our legal system. Native Law is like the institutions in which it is embedded; it is they, not the law, which guarantee that measure of certainty which life, unmotivated by the spirit of calculation, requires. In our aggressive world, law must be an autonomous order, sovereign and independent, standing guard over our titles to private property, ensuring the fulfilment of our legal expectations. In order to enable us to calculate our rights in advance, we must have meticulous certainty, especially in our legal contracts, because on them the security of our gigantic commercial structure depends.

But in Native society there are no contracts in our sense. The agreement most nearly approaching a contract is hu fhisa, entrusting cattle to the care of another; but characteristically the mufhiswa, to whom the cattle are entrusted, "scans the road even as he milks," for the owner may come at any time to take back his cattle. And again, to illustrate the foolishness of meticulously fulfilling promises, they say "the far-off well causes thirst," for it is unwise to keep one's appointment at a distant beer party when one may drink by the way. The far-off beer may have miscarried and the broken promise neither seriously inconveniences nor is irreparable. Man is not the slave of time nor of his promises. Time is not of the essence in a society which is not the by product of

¹ Muhama-khomo-ya-lefhisa u hama a lêvhêlêde zila.

² Khidivhana khi hole khi vhulaisa dôra.

Wa lunya gi wa lejaji, only the intractable, the rude, are told the time to come.

contractual relations.¹ A defendant who is fined will pay some day, but the court and the complainant are tolerant of his excuse, as he appears time after time to say that he is "still looking for the fine." Old Mabungwani came to court—a long distance for a man of sixty-five—every Sunday for two years to hear this excuse from Maaki; but he remained the soul of humour and wit, an ornament to the court, up to the last. He knew he would be paid, as he eventually was, and was content to let off some steam now and again to the discomfiture of the court.³ "An obligation never rots," but it may take an unconscionable time to mature to fulfilment.

Justice according to law like that of our courts achieves certainty, but it can settle only legal not fundamental issues. Native courts have no use for an instrument, keen edged as a razor in a legal contest but unsuited for probing into the motives that occasion the contest. Their discretion is unlimited; they need not confine themselves to dissecting excrescences; they can dig, if they like, to the roots of the evil. They achieve not legal certainty, but moral and institutional security, on which their society, unaffected by legalistic psychoses, can manage to keep an even keel. Unlimited discretion may open wide avenues to inconsistency and corruption; but the student who discovers many observances in the breach is usually, as I was, a victim of his own misunderstanding.

Two simple examples will suffice to show how the legal becomes submerged in the human issue. Sigwêgwê, deprived of his land, brought action for restitution. The law was on his side, yet the court decided against him. For the method by which he sought to secure his rights, by consulting a European solicitor, was an abomination which aroused deep indignation. It was behaviour which is conceived to threaten the security of the society. Sigwêgwê was given other land, but his efforts to get back the land demanded by the solicitor were in vain. Was the

¹ A vha ri ngôbê zwala; e ga zwala e khia fhiha, one does not say to a cow "calve," for it won't calve until its time has arrived. Good things must be given time to mature.

Old Mabungwani occasionally complained to me, but possibly only in sympathetic response to the indignation I expressed at the conduct in his case. Mostly he incomprehendingly tolerated my remarks, which were rather unkindly pressed upon him. He was amply compensated by the prominent part he took in all cases, humourously generalizing the moral issues to the enjoyment of all. When at last Maaki paid him, he no longer came to court, and I for one felt that the loss was great.

³ Muladu a u sini.

⁴ Unjust partiality is, of course, not unknown. Most commonly it is said to arise from "knowing one another." Hu naka a hu tswani le hu zivhya, handsomeness is not equivalent to being known, that is, when corruption is about.

court corrupt in not enforcing the law? I do not think that even Sigwêgwê thought that it was. Dumedi and some other youths, instigated by their elder brothers, seized some fowls carried by two passers-by, who thereupon instituted action. The youngsters had no defence and were each fined a goat. But, as the court was dispersing, one of the defendants, a mere child of six, quoted the proverb that "bulls do not fight unless set against one another." The court roared, the complainants anger was dissolved and the judgment was allowed to lapse. There is no principle, legal or otherwise, in that, you will say. On the contrary, wrongs are not righted by law alone; the contagion of laughter may be more effective.

Our justice according to law is characterized by the principle of party presentation; the court confines itself to the issues placed before it by the parties. In the Native system, the issues presented by the parties are often not judged at all; they may serve merely as the strategic position from which the court deploys its line of investigation. The issues contained in the complaint and the answer to it often give no clue to the seriousness of the conflict. They are the symptoms from which the court diagnoses the real disease, or in their more telling phraseology they are "the creepers at which the court tugs to get at the calabashes." Mabula sued Mahasha to recover the damage caused by his cattle to her crops. Such an action is usually incompetent, as the loss should be made good by apology. A suit for damages in these circumstances is regarded as vindictive; it evokes retaliation which is frowned upon as obnoxious and barbaric; and "the rarer action is in virtue than in vengeance." Moreover, as Mahasha was Mabula's uncle (father's younger brother), there were

disregarding legal rule; it is rather that they are concerned, not with legal rule as such, but with something more fundamental. There may be a legal issue in a case, but there are usually other issues as well; they do not single out the legal issue or confine themselves to it; they judge the broad human situation in relation, of course, to the complex of institutions in which it occurs. To have law on your side is something, but it is not everything, either in life or in the Native court. Natives usually vehemently assert the orderliness of their legal proceedings and the exactitude with which principles of justice are applied. And from their point of view they are right; for, paradoxical as it may appear, there is always a principle, a general rule, underlying a decision; but it is not our, it is their rule. I have not attempted to enunciate the substantive rules, legal or otherwise, or to coordinate them into a heirarchy of principles. It may be possible to do so, but I was not concerned with that aspect of Native law in this lecture.

² Wa kôkôša leraga, maroji a tôvhêla, you pull at the creepers and the calabashes follow.

murmurs that the matter should be dismissed as too puerile for the court (zwitsélė). Yet the case proceeded, the evidence dragged on—until, when it was time to "chew" the matter, someone, as if casually, enquired whether Mabula was not the district head and Mahasha the ex-regent of Kumeloni. In a flash, the true issue, the struggle for position between "daughter" and "little father" (for the younger brother of one's father is like a little father) was revealed. It is unnecessary to explain the true inwardness of such a struggle, with the principles of seniority of age and of precedence of rank in conflict, or to lead the evidence as it gradually disclosed the history of the quarrel. It is sufficient to say that the original issue, the question of damage, was forgotten as if it were a fictitious issue, which it might well have been; and Mahasha was persuaded to live with relatives far from Kumeloni, so that Mabula, the real ruler, need not "feel cramped" by his presence.

We invoke equity to circumvent strict law; their courts are concerned not to circumvent law, but to fulfil social justice, if necessary, by making explicit what is implicit in the issues. But this is not always necessary, and the true basis of a decision may entirely escape the attention of a stranger who is unfamiliar with the society and with standards that are not so much explicitly formulated as taken for granted. He may conclude that the decision is corrupt or arbitrary, forgetting that the more fundamental a principle and the more it is tacitly assumed, the more likely it is that his conclusion is wrong.

CONFLICTS ARISING FROM INSTITUTIONAL INCONGRUITIES

There are occasions when even the seasoned wisdom of the old men is of no avail, for the conflict may have a superhuman origin, resulting from dissensions spread by the witch and the sorcerer in the world of darkness. There, both the evidence of the senses and the deductions of reason are uncertain. With these cases we shall deal later. Here we are concerned with situations, amenable to human senses and reasoning, but which, because they arise not from personal but institutional incompatibility, cannot be adjusted by the courts. Incompatible loyalties are not unknown in our society, for the State may command what the Church forbids. They are frequent where two cultures clash: the Native mother, who murders her twins to escape the defilement that might cause disaster, is punished by our courts. But these are not cases of unresolvable institutional incongruity, for the law which is sovereign over all overrides everything, co-ordinates everything. In Native society the position is different. Law is embedded in, it is not above, the institutions of the

society; the "law" of one institution may conflict, and conflict unresolvably, with the "law" of another institution.

For a convincing illustration I would have to show you a model of the structure of the society and point out how, say, the pillar of parental authority supports the heirarchy of the kin but has a great strain thrown upon it by the munvwalo attic where marriages are arranged. take me too long to construct the model, but let us imagine a father marrying a second wife with the cattle which came in as the munvwalo of his daughter. Having contributed the cattle, she is said to have built the house of this second wife of her father. She has rights over that house, rights which are incompatible with the authority of her father as well as with the deference she must pay her "little mother," the second wife of her father. Parental authority is strongly emphasized, but it is no more fundamental in the society than the complicated links forged by the munywalo cattle. The exercise by father or daughter of recognized rights can and does in certain circumstances lead to unresolvable conflicts, which the courts are powerless to adjust. Some members of the court are concerned to uphold parental authority, because they feel that the social structure will collapse if that pillar is undermined; others fear that if the munywalo attic is tampered with, the integration of the society, the widespread relations established by marriage, will suffer irreparably. In such a situation the judges might one by one drift away, leaving the court empty; they might evade the real issue and read moral lessons to both parties; they might patch up an unreal compromise as a temporary modus vivendi, typically emphasizing the supreme virtue of give and take. And, as it is time alone which heals all, they often allow the case to drag

¹ The munywalo (lobola) cattle coming in by a daughter's marriage must ordinarily be handed over to the uterine brother so that he might acquire a wife with them. If there is no such brother, among a number of possibilities, the father may use the cattle to obtain a wife for himself. But in any case the daughter contributing the cattle is said to have "built the house" established by her cattle; there she may "place her things" which connotes a large measure of control. From the issue of that house she may demand a daughter as wife for her son and, if her request is refused, she may break down the house by taking back her cattle. There also she can cause illness merely by being "displeased in her heart." In one case where this house was that of her "little mother," the wife of her father who had used her cattle, she exercised her rights by standing in the doorway when her father "entered." This exposure of her father's intimacy precipitated a conflict which, terrible though it was considered to be, the court was unable to adjust. It could merely order the daughter to seek an old man to beg her father's pardon and the father to fulfil his duty towards the daughter's own mother (who had also become involved in the conflict) by filling her grain pits.

on for years, in the hope that the initial tensions will get lost in the pleasant social activity of coming to court, taking part in the proceedings and ventilating grievances.

THE ATTITUDE TO EVIDENCE

Turning to another of the many aspects of Native Law, let us consider briefly the attitude to evidence. With us the major problem is what evidence is to be admitted and what to be excluded; with them it is the more realistic one of appraising the credibility of the evidence. The Native court is like a historian who seeks his evidence anywhere and everywhere, admitting documents even if they are self-incriminating or were not drafted under oath, not disqualifying those who are interested in the matter nor even the spouses of villains, and paying scant deference to the rule against hearsay evidence, that greatest contribution of English law to jurisprudence. The historian no doubt (like the Native court) regards such evidence with suspicion, but he does not exclude it in advance; he assesses its credibility by internal and external criticism. In our legal system the technique is different because the conditions are different. Not logic but the nature and history of our legal institutions have determined our rules of evidence. For instance, the stringent requirements of "full" proof, when witnesses were assessed as halves or quarters, led to extortion of confessions by third degree methods and from that in turn came our rules against admitting confessions. In Native society there are no police to grill prisoners, and, where proof is unattainable, an appeal to the diviner infallibly compensates for the inadequacy of the evidence and the frailty of human reasoning. In our courts time is limited and the atmosphere is charged with emotion; with them cases are timeless contests and the situation is sufficiently accommodating to guarantee a large measure of truthfulness.

But above all our rules have evolved against a background in which the fallibility of the jury looms large; they have to be protected against their inexperience in estimating the probative value of evidence—hence the great concern of our law of evidence with exclusionary rules. The men of the khôrô, on the other hand, have had a life-long training in assessing credibility and generally know so much about the facts of the case that lying is of little avail. By contrast they believe, not without contempt, that any lie is good enough to deceive a European. Falsehood is not punished as perjury in their courts; it is dealt with by laughter and ridicule. If the liar under pressure varies his story and contradicts himself, there is a ripple of derision as "the buck doubles on its tracks;" if he struggles to deny his association with the offence he is reminded that

"no one admits being the owner of dung." And in the end he is overcome with the weapons of confrontation and a publicity from which few can conceal their deeds—or their misdeeds.²

Can we expect that in this setting the rules of evidence will be even remotely like ours? Of the many contrasts we mention only two. Firstly, there are no exclusionary rules; even irrelevant creepers may be attached to very relevant calabashes. Much as may be said on this point, what we have already urged as to the manner in which the court handles symptomatic issues must suffice for to-night. Secondly, there is no Sherlock Holmes to follow up clues, no machinery to deal with the conflicts of evidence of the deeds of darkness, such as theft and adultery and witchcraft. In such cases the seventh sense of the diviner is conceived to penetrate the darkness like our instruments of detection and our circumstantial deductions. But such a power, uncurbed, might destroy the law and society itself. In the cases of adultery and theft they have therefore wrested some territory from the sway of the diviner, using among others the weapon of presumptions, which supplement the inadequacy of the evidence of the senses.³ In our law, too, we invoke pre-

There are numerous sayings, constantly used in court, which are suggestive of the attitude to falsehood and the function of the court in judging cases. As to falsehood, they say, "gi letšipa le khi na munye," it is excrement which has no owner; or "hu vhifha a hu na munye," lies have no owner; or "ya vhuya ga vhutala," (the buck) returns on its tracks. Muladu gi letšipa, an obligation is excrement (because no one wishes to own it), implies almost sympathy with the unfortunate defendant who has got himself into trouble, for "munna a thôgi (šai) muladu," there is no man but is (occasionally) involved in a case. "Vhutadzi ga gôhô vhya gwêlêla," true evidence is emerging, is scornful and indicates that a man has unconsciously given himself away or been contradicted by other evidence which rings true. It has been mentioned that the men know all the facts beforehand, but "muhulwani a tôvhêlêla zwitšêle," a great person does not follow unfounded gossip; he is impartial; and "a ri thôi mutho, ri thôa muladu," we judge not the man but the case.

It is so futile to imagine that one can conceal one's misdeeds that "nagwe u khukhuna lehubeni thuda nde ya sala," i.e., even if one sneaks along crouching under a precipice (thinking one is unobserved), the nape of one's neck remains exposed. This warning to a man, who thinks that he can secretly commit a wrong, magnificently expresses the conviction that even a mountain cannot obscure from view the slinking of the would-be offender. But it applies only to wrongs which are perceptible to the senses, not to the misdeeds of darkness.

It is frequently said that in Native Law an accused is presumed to be guilty until he proves himself innocent. But in reality there is no onus of proof on either side. "Hu tswara lefhudu ga lwaho," to catch a thief by his footprint, that is, to accuse on slender evidence, is deprecated. Again, "hu

sumptions to facilitate proof. We presume, for instance, that a child born during wedlock is legitimate or that the mere possession of liquor in certain circumstances implies an unlawful purpose. Such presumptions are based on our notions of probability or of social policy, and some presumptions are irrebuttable. In Native law there are no irrebuttable presumptions and their validity is conceived to depend on the kind of probability that the society recognizes. Thus, to give a few examples in regard to adultery, it is presumed that "a woman is a bone," her evidence in such cases being regarded as nearly equivalent in reliability to the bones of a diviner; against an adulterer who cannot deny that he has visited the plaintiff, it is urged that "if a buck has put down its hoofs (by the waterside), it has drunk; "while a man, whose premarital paramour (mudavho) marries another, if accused by the husband of adultery with her, will find it hard to rebut the presumption that "where a buck has found beans, it will not stop going." These presumptions show how man extends the sphere of reason and strives to subject the extrajudicial to the judicial.

CONCLUSION

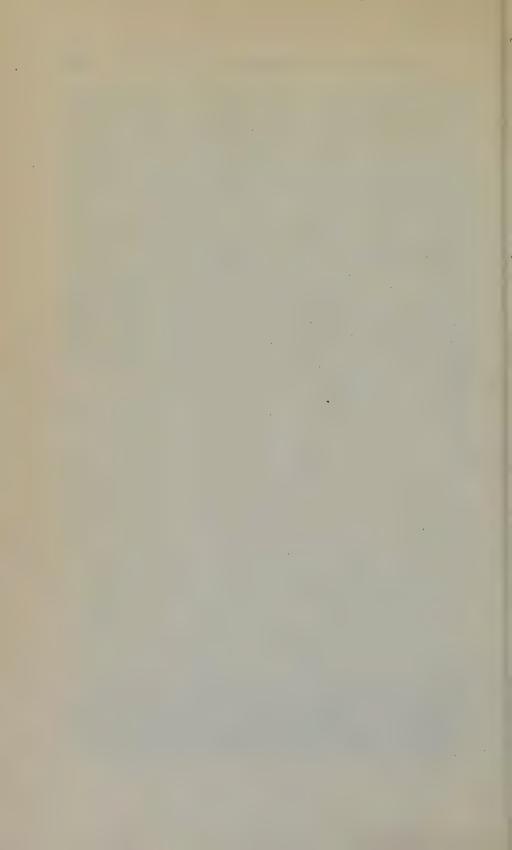
The fundamental differences in attitude and approach between ourselves and Natives not unnaturally lead to grave misunderstandings. We have erred in judging Native Law from the point of view of our standards. They have even more tragically misinterpreted our legal system; and the measure of their misunderstanding should be the measure by which we distrust mere intuition as a guide to our understanding of their legal arrangements. Our lawyers, the main actors as it seems on the legal stage, are to them the conspirators in a plot of which they are the victims—but whether because of schemes secretly laid in the background of the court (where their fate is arbitrarily decided) or because of ostenta-

vha vhuvhi vhyayo tšwene mavhêle vhusihu a i li," bad as the baboon is, it does not eat mealies at night, that is, an offence cannot be imputed even to a bad man unless there is positive evidence of that offence against him. Contrast our "give a dog a bad name and hang him."

Musadi gi lethagu, a woman is a bone (die thrown by diviners). Ya lôga khwada ya nwa, (if) it (the buck) put down its hoof, it drank. Ya khumana (or la) dinawa, a i kha huma, (if) it (the buck) found beans, it cannot stop retracing its steps. But note, "mba a i lefhye gi muladi," the pregnancy is not paid by the adulterer, for though A may be responsible for the pregnancy, B who visited subsequently is accused and must pay. It is considered so improbable that the pregnant woman would unjustly accuse B (though she may protect A) that "nama-kôbêlêja i pharula bija," the meat forced down bursts the pot, that is, an innocent man falsely accused and found guilty of adultery can be irreparably harmed, for he might commit suicide.

tious loquacity, purchased for deceitful display in the foreground, they are not sure. Our justice is inscrutable to them. Should judgment go against an innocent accused, he resigns himself to the incomprehensibility of our law or, if he is hardened, to free lodging in the "Government's hotels." Should the offender be acquitted or inadequately punished, he becomes the luckless victim of enemies who by niêlêla'ing him, magically render him subject to an obsessive compulsion to repeat the offence, to relapse into crime; hu niêlêla is an attempt to cope with the insecurity resulting from our arbitrary justice. It is the shattering answer to our complacent rectitude. Under our protection, as they see it, criminals and witches multiply and become more aggressive. The clemency we exercise to effect the reformation of the offender is a challenge to which they respond by constraining him to crime. Their sense of security, undermined by our conceptions of moral correction, can be reinstated paradoxically only by recidivistic magic. That, if anything, should make us realize the absurdity of solving their problems from our angles. However immaculate our ideals, if they are not cut to the configuration of the society on to which they are thrust, they will produce an effect as incongruous as a Native in a top hat working in the fields.

¹ So that he might fall into the clutches of our law again and again, until he shall have been sufficiently punished to expiate his original offence. Hu niêlêla is supposed to make a man foolish, half-demented, driven by unconscious impulses to do certain illegal acts. It is an old technique traditionally used to cope with theft when no evidence was available.



A PREŁIMINARY CHECK LIST OF ZULU NAMES OF PLANTS

With Short Notes

By REV. JACOB GERSTNER, Ph.D.

(continued)

- 1004. i(li)Habehabe (1), according to Bryant, a kind of very bitter wild lettuce. Probably the same as i(li)Klabeklabe, Sonchus oleraceus L.
- 1005. *i(li)Habiya*, (general), medicine or love charm of any kind used by young men to cause a girl to *hayiza*, i.e. to throw her in hysteric fits. Besides different kinds of fat (lion's fat, leopard's fat, etc.) they recommend the *uKhathwa* herb, the *umMbeza* tree, the *amaPhofu* bush, etc.
- 1006. i(li)Habiyo, the same as i(li)Habiya.
- 1007. i(li)Hala (3, W & S) Aloe macracantha, Aloe saponaria, etc.
- 1008. u(lu)Halakasha (1, NES), a grass for making ropes.
- 1009. uHal(i)bomu, (general) Agave americana etc.; probably to be derived from i(li)Hala the dwarf Aloe. So the meaning would be "Aloe-tree." Also Fourcroya gigantea, Agave sisalana, etc.
- 1010. umHamalala (1, S & X) according to Schwaiger, Strychnos atherstonii Harv., a fine timber of the forests.
- 1011. umHashaza (1, NES) a giant grass, with broad corrugated leaves.
- 1012. u(lu) Hashu (2, NZ) a grass, cf. Herbar. 2435.
- 1013. umHayihayi (2) Mimusops caffra E.M., a tree of the coast-bush.
- 1014. amaHenyane (W & S) according to Weintroub 515, Portulaca quadrifida L., a succulent herb.
- 1015. umHephuhephu (1) according to Bryant, a kind of long coarse grass.
- 1016. umuHla (1, probably S & X) according to Chapman, Strychnos spinosa Lam., the monkey-orange tree.
- 1017. i(li)Hlaba (1, S & X) according to Mogg 1617, Sonchus dregeanus.
- 1018. inHlaba, a smaller form of umHlaba.
- 1019. uHlaba (1) herbalist's ikhubalo.

- 1020. umHlaßa (general) Aloe sessiliflora Pole Ev. and all Aloes of the subgenus Pachydendron (besides one Aloe nitens Baker, called umHlaßanhlazi or u(lu)Phondonde or uNdlampofu) e.g. Aloe Marlothii A. Berg., dominant in Zululand, Aloe candelabrum Berger, frequent in Natal, Aloe spectabilis in the Tukela valley and Aloe Thraskii Baker on the sand-dunes of the coast.
 - The ashes of the dried leaves are mixed with the snuff to make it pungent. Root chewed and used as enema for babies. Juice of the green leaves is smeared on nipple of the mother's breast to wean the infant.
- 1020a. umHlababa (1, NIN), Gardenia Neuberia, a very thorny shrub of the forests.
- 1021. isiHlababakhonjane (2, NES), the same as isiHlabamakhondlwane.
- 1022. umHlabahlangana (1, NKA) an ikhubalo.
- 1023. umHlabahlungulu (1, NS) Phyllan thus spec., a tree of the Ngome Forest.
- 1024. umHlaßa-ißoge (1, S & X) according to Bews Myrsine africana L., a Pioneer shrub in forest areas.
- 1025. isiHlabamakhondlwane (general), all species of Dicoma, a silverthistle with very spiky bracts, medicinally used for cough and chest trouble.
- 1026. isiHlabamakhonjane (1) according to Watt the same as isiHlabamakhondlwane.
- 1027. umHlaßampethu (1, S & X) according to Schwaiger Chenopodium ambrosioides and Chenopodidium vulvaria.
- 1028. umHlaßampunzi (1) according to Bryant a certain tree, used for making Dingane's sticks, prob. Grewia flava.
- 1029. umHlaßamvußu (general) Rhus Legati Schönl., a tree of the mistbelt forests yielding hard timber.
- 1030. isiHlabana (2, NBA & NQ) Aloe Gerstneri Reynolds. Only at Nondweni—Babanango.
- 1031. umHlabangubo (general S & X) Bidens pilosa L., the black jacks.
- 1032. umHlabanhlazi or inHlabanhlazi (general in Zululand), Aloe nitens Baker, a very tall Pachydendron—Aloe growing along rivers and in precipices. In Natal it is often called u(lu)Phondonde.
 (2) Aloe suprafoliata Pole Ecans, is also sometimes called umHlabanhlazi.
- 1033. umHlabankonkoni (1) probably Rhus Legati. Schönl.

- 1034. umHlabankunzi (2 NKA), the same as umHlabamvubu; (N & T)

 Doryalis caffra, a very thorny tree yielding the Dingaan's aples.
- 1035. uHlabazihlangana (2, NES), herbalist's love charm emetic.
- 1036. uHlabehlangana (1) according to Mogg 6220 Rhamphicarpa spec., a Hemiparasite in the grass veld.
- 1037. umHlabelo (general). Any medicine for rubbing in, to remedy a fracture, sprain, or snake bite, e.g. Selago spec., Nidorella spec., etc., etc., a kind of embrocation.
- 1038. u(lu)Hlabo (1) Senecio serra Sond. Decoction of root said to be good against palpitation of the heart.
- 1039. uHlabu (1) according to Watt, Conyza ivaefolia Less., a herb.
- 1040. u(lu)Hlagahla, the same as u(lu)Bane-Agapanthus umbellatus, a blue flowering lily.
- 1041. i(li)Hlagahlega (1) according to Mogg the same as in Hlagahlela.
- 1042. inHlagahlela (1) according to Mogg Cucumis africanus L.f. a wild cucumber.
- 1043. isiHlagasola (1, S & X) according to Mogg 1609 Aster hispidus, a herb with a blue daisy-flower.
- 1044. umHlagele (general) the same as umHlwagele, Drypetes Gerrardi Hutchin, a forest-tree.
- 1045. *i(li)Hlaguthi* (1) according to Bews Allophylus monophyllus, usually called *umTatazane*, a shrub or small tree.
- 1046. umHlahlahla (1) according to Bryant a certain tree; (1) according to Sim. Cliffortia prostrata Schltr.
- 1047. inHlahlakanya (1, W & S) according to Weintroub 318 a plant with edible parts.
- 1048. umHlahlamakhwaba (2) according to Bryant Bridelia micrantha Baill. Also NUK.
- 1049. umHlahlambedu (3 NIN), Calpurnia lasiogyne; (1, S & X) according to Watt among the Fingos used for Chenopodium, e.g. ambrosioides. L.
- 1050. umHlahlankosi (1) according to Watt Zizyphus mucronata Willd., but the general name all over is "umLahlankosi."
- 1051. in Hlahlayehlathi (1) herbalist's emetic for love charm.
- 1052. umHlahle (general) Sideroxylon inerme L., a fine timber of the bushveld, (general) Bridelia micrantha Baill, a tree of the close forests and river valleys and (1) according to Bryant a wiry kind of

- grass used for making the isithebe. Grows near rivers or swamps (1, NHL) Gardenia cornuta.
- 1053. umHlahlemangcwibi (1) a tree. Bridelia micrantha Baill.
- 1054. in Hlahlwane (1, NHL) Aloe Van Balenii, an Aloe with yellow flowers usually growing on rocks.
- 1055. u(lu)Hlakahla (3), a veld plant, whose large bulbous root is used as an IsiHlambezo and iNembe, perhaps Agapanthus umbellatus L'Herit.
- 1056. umHlakaza (1) Gladiolus psittacinus Hook, a gladiolus lily with orange flowers.
- 1057. umHlakahliso, (1), NUB Asclepiadacea with sweetly scented flowers. Root is given to dogs to make them hunt well.
- 1058. umHlakela, the same as umHlwagele, Drypetes gerardi. Hutchin, a tree of the forests.
- 1059. umHlakele, the same as umHlwagele.
- 1060. inHlakoshane (S & X) Maesa alnifolia Harv. etc., a shrub or little tree.
- 1061. umHlakothi, isiHlakothi, (general), a number of Rhus, like Rhus villosa L., Rhus Fraseri, etc., etc., with red heart-wood, used as dye to stain the clothes red.
- 1062. umHlakuva (general) Ricinus communis L., the castor oil plant. Leaves used as poultice for boils.
- 1063. umHlakuva wehlanze, an Euphorbiacea of the northern bushveld resembling the castor oil plant, prob. Jatropha spec.
- 1064. *i(li)Hlala* (general), fruit of the *umHlala*-tree, the so-called monkey orange, a big berry with a hard shell. The flesh is eaten by Natives. The seeds are poisonous and crushed used as snake antidote.
- 1065. umHlala (general) Strychnos spinosa Lam., the monkey-orange-tree.
- 1066. umHlalabantu (1,) according to Sim Zizyphus mucronata, var. glabrata, usually called umPhafa a tree.
- 1067. umHlalabenyoni (1,) "The Bird Trap" according to Bews Loranthus natalitius Meissn., a mistletoe.
- 1068. umHlalahlathi (1, NHL) Clematis brachiata Thb., usually called umHlanhlathi, a climber.
- 1069. umHlalajuba (general) certain white-wooded forest-tree Croton sylvaticus Hochst.

- 1070. isiHlalakahle (1, NHL) Haworthia near limifolia, used against stomach trouble. Only a spoonful should be taken.
- 1071. isiHlalakuhle—(general) Brassica pachypoda, very good imimfino ="sits well in the stomach," very digestible.
- 1072. i(li)Hlala lasenyakatho, Herbalist's name for an emetic for love charm.
- 1073. umHlalamagwababa, according to Bryant a tree with black wood, used by Tshaka and Dingane for izinduku and not allowed to others. Bridelia micrantha Baill.—
- 1074. umHlalamahabayi (general)=umHlalamahubulu, and Galpinia (NUB). natalensis.
- 1075. umHlalamahubulu=umHhlalamagwababa.
- 1076. isiHlalamangcwißi, (general in Natal), Bridelia micrantha Baill, common tree.
- 1077. umHlalamangcwishi (1, NUK)=isiHlalamangcwißi.
- 1078. inHlalamatsheni, a shrub growing round the Kandla and Oudeni forests.
- 1079. umHlalampethu (1, NS) a little tree or shrub, Calpurnia autea and sylratica.
- 1080. umHlalampunzi, at Mariannhill (3), the same as uDlampunzi, Sapium reticulatum Pax., (according to Bews Sapium Manianum Bth.), in Nongoma District Grewia flava D.C., all little trees or shrubs, the fruits of which the duikers like very much.
- 1081. umHlalamthini (NUF), a love charm emetic.
- 1082. i(li)Hlalane, fruits of the umHlalane.
- 1083. isiHlalane, Strychnos Gerrardi (NZ), yielding very good sticks.
- 1084. umHlalane, usually diminutive of umHlala, but sometimes used also for other Strychnos-trees, e.g. Strychnos Gerrardi and Strychnos Asthertonei with smaller fruits.
- 1085. umHlalankomo, a plant with edible fruits (1, NMA).
- 1086. umHlalankwanzi, "the tree on which the fish-eagle sits" (general NUB) Acacia albida Del., the Ana-tree, a huge acacia growing on rivers of the north.
- 1087. umHlalantethe (N & T), a shrub, prob. some Sudigoferas.
- 1088. umHlalanyamazane (1, NS) Euclea natalensis.

- 1089. umHlalanyathi (general) Grewia ocidentalis and perhaps some other species very near to it, a tree with beautiful purple-blue flower and nice shade. "The buffaloes are fond of standing in its shade." Hence the name.
- 1090. umHlalavane (W & S) (general) Combretum transvaalense, a shrub or tree of the North yielding good sticks.
- 1091. umHlalawenyoni, according to Bews, Loranthus natalitius. Perhaps only a modern translation uNomfi. Nz (Ongoye) Sapium manianum.
- 1092. i(li)Hlali (1) Hermstaedtia elegans, root used for ubulawu. (NES) Bryant reports that the roots are mixed with the flesh of a kingfisher (isi Vuba) and used as love charm.
 - (2) Mogg 5760, herb with white feathery-like inflorescence like *Imperata*. Decoction of roots gives an ubuLawu.
- 1093. umHlali, probably the same as umHlala.
- 1094. umHlalimakhwaba, (general) a common tree, Bridelia micrantha Baill, bearing dark-coloured edible berries.
- 1095. umHlalulwane (2) Baleria elegans S. Moore. and Plectranthus spectow herbs of the Acanthus family.
- 1096. u(lu)Hlalwane (2) according to Mogg 3808 Pycnostachys reticulata Benth., a Labiata herb with sky-blue flower spikes. One record pointed to a grass.
- 1097. isiHlama, a plant.
- 1098. i(li)Hlambahlale (general), "Washes and does not go off," all three kinds of Scolopia: Scolopia Eckloni (Arn) Harv. Scolopia Zeyheri (Arn) Harv. Scolopia mundii Warb., trees with horrible thorns, called also i(li)Dungamuzi wehlathi.
- 1099. i(li)Hlambahloshane (general) Vernonia kraussii Sch. Bip., a common little shrublet with silvery leaves and dark-purple-red flowers, used as tea and enema.
- 1100. umHlambamanzi (general), the same as umHlambamasi.
- 1101. umHlambamasi (general) "The sour-milk-cleaner," Rauwolfia natalensis Sond., the Quinine tree, with big panicles of little white flowers and whorled shiny leaves, which, when cut, exudes latex. The bark is used as emetic in fevers, when plenty of sour milk will no more stay in the stomach. Hence the name. The same name is sometimes incorrectly applied to two similar trees: Conopharyngia ventricosa, uNomfi, and Voacanga Dregei, uNokhahlu

- 1102. umHlambandlazi (general NKA, NS), "The Mousebirdwasher," Lachnopylis floribunda C. A. Smith. This tree has big whorled leaves, etc., like Rauwolfia, the umHlambamasi. Probably in order not to be mixed up with the Sour-milk-cleaner it is called the "Mouse bird Cleanser."
- 1103. *i(li)Hlambe* (1) according to Mogg *Ipomaea palmata*, a climber in forests. Probably an *iKhubalo* taken as an "*iHlambo*," i.e. purification after burial.
- 1104. umHlambezi, probably the same as umHlambezo.
- 1105. isiHlambezo, n. (1) Infusion of certain plants used as iNembe, e.g.
 (2) Any single plant used for isiHlambezo=i(li)Nembe.
- 1106. umHlambizo, the same as isiHlambezo, used also as a specific name for Apapanthus umbellatus and similar species, Dianthus sp. and Chlorophytum spec.
- 1107. i(li)Hlambihloshane (general) (also found with prefixes u- and isiand with central vowel a and u). Two composite-herbs, Gerbera Kraussii Sch. Bip. and Vernonia Kraussii Sch. Bip. They are used as iKambi for stomach ache.
- 1108. umHlambuluka (1) according to Bews Lotononis corymbusa Bth., a cloverlike herb with yellow flowers.
- 1109. i(li)Hlamvu=three kinds of Liliaceae, red flowering climbing lilies, the leaves of all three kinds are produced into a tendril at the apex and the roots of which are used as aphrodisiacum to heal sterility. Radix administratus feminae est radix minor similis montis Veneris, radix administratus viri radix major producens radicem minorem similem pennis viri. Creditur quoniam adhibentur res similes: Sandersonia aurantiaca Hook, Gloriosa virescens Ldl., and Littonia modesta Hk.
 - They use sometimes as a kind of substitute the bulbs of certain Eulophia-Orchids. Native doc ors maintain, that they cannot only alter with these roots the sex of the offspring but they can actually procure the birth of whichever sex they will.
- 1110. inHlamvubele (general) Maesa rufescens, etc., a shrub with white berries.
- 1111. uHlamvuhloshane, i(li)Hlamvuhloshane (general) Gerbera Kraussi Sch. Bip., a veld-daisy with a large white flower. Leaves are used for emetic and as a tea for stomach-ache.
- 1112. *i(li)Hlamvulasenhla* (general) = Sandersonia aurantiaca, the Christmas bell, roots used as aphrodisiacum.

- 1113. i(li)Hlamvu (general) lasolwandle=Gloriosa superba and virescens (=isiKhwali sasolwandle), Gloriosa lilies, roots used as aphrodisiacum and as lice-killer (umThwentwala).
- 1114. (ili) Hlamvu lehlathi=Littonia modesta, roots used as aphrodisiacum, a herb similar to the Christmas bell.
- 1115. i(li)Hlamvu lomfana nentombazana (2) the same as i(li)Hlamvu lasolwandhle.
- 1116. umHlanakwanzi (1, NUB) Acacia albida, a giant tree along the Pongola river.
- 1117. umHlandlothi (general) the flat crown tree called by some the u(lu)Solo. Albizzia fastigiata E. Mey., used against stomach trouble.
- 1118. umHlanga (general) a reed, especially Phragmites communis Trin.
- 1119. u(lu)Hlanga lomdlebe, a medicine plant and ikhubalo of the inyanga.
- 1120. inHlange, according to Mogg 6572=Nidorella auriculata DC.
- 1121. i(li)Hlangoshiyane or i(li)Hlangushiyane (W & S) the same as isiHlokoshiyane, nearly all kinds of Rhus, small trees and shrubs.
- 1122. umHlangothi (the better spelling is uNhlangothi), Protorhus longifolius Engl., a forest-tree.
- 1123. isiHlangu (general), a number of Gymnosporias, the leaves of which resemble somehow an isiHlangu, a fighting shield. Hence the name e.g. Gymnosporus senegal, etc.
- 1124. uHlanguhloshana (general) Vernonia Kraussii Sch. Bip., a Veldplant with numerous small silver-gray leaves on a long stalk and burnt on the fire to scare away lightning.
- 1125. uHlanguhloshane or uHlangihloshane (general), the same as i(li)-Hlambihloshane, Gerbera Kraussii Sch. Bip. and Vernonia Kraussii, two herbs with daisy flowers.
- 1126. umHlangula (2 NP, Sim.) according to Sim. Euclea macrophylla.
- 1127. umHlangulo (W & S), a shrub with black edible fruits, probably the same as umHlangula.
- 1128. isiHlangwane, diminutive of isiHlangu.
- 1129. ubuHlangwe (N & T & NUB), a shrub the root of which is used for a tea against pleuritis; probably Gymnosporia spec.
- 1130. umHlangwenya (general NKA), Cryptocarya latifolia, a big laurel-tree of the mistbelt-forests, the fruit-shells of which the heathen herdboys use as umNcwado.

- 1131. inHlanhla (2) (general), a kind of Secamone, a forest climber with latex; used as love charm emetic.
- 1132. umHlanhlanzi (1, Sim) Diacarpa alata Sim.
- 1133. umHlanhlathi, all kinds of Clematis, esp. Clematis brachiata Thb., "The Traveller's Joy," to be derived from hlanhlatha "to go astray outside one's course."
- 1134. umHlanhlaze (2) according to Bryant a Veld-herb with large pink flower. Also (2 NHL) Buttonia natalensis McKen, a climber with big (1in.) pinkish-purple trumpet flowers, having foliage and branching like clematis.
- 1135. inHlanhlenkulu (2) Polygala serpentaria=uQangendlela, a little herb used as love charm emetic.
- 1136. umHlanhlothi (general) Albizzia fastigiata, a common tree, the Flat Crown; v.l. umHlandlothi.
- 1137. umHlankosi (1), a tree mentioned in Krige's book. Perhaps the same as umHlangothi.
- 1138. i(li)Hlangante (1)=probably Pachycarpus campulatus.
- 1139. inHlantana (1) according to Bryant a parasitical plant burned for medicinal purposes.
- 1140. inHlantlana (1) according to Bryant a climbing forest-plant, used as a love-emetic by young men, etc., prob. Secamone.
- 1141. uHlanyanae (1, NMA), a house medicine.
- 1142. umHlanzabuzo (1) a big tree.
- 1143. uHlanzafuku (1) a fern=Pteridium aquilinum.
- 1144. i(li)Hlanzandulo (1) Hevittea bicolor (W & S) a convolvulaceous twiner in bush.
- 1145. uHlaphozi (1, NMA) a house medicine.
- 1146. umHlaphunzi (1, NES) the same as umHlwampunzi, two trees, Sapium retilatum Pax and Grewia flava DC.
- 1147. inHlasana (1) probably the same as inHlashane.
- 1148. inHlashane (general) Lichtensteinia pyrethrifolia, root used for enema. They drink a decoction of the root in small quantities for chest complaints, and use it as scent. They use in similar way two plants of this Parsley Family, Gnidium Kraussianum which is also used as imifino and Lichtensteinia Kolbeana Bolus.
- 1149. umHlashane, the same as inHlashane.
- 1150. umHlashoshana, a fern, Pteridium aquilinum, the roots of which are used as vermifuge.

- 1151. umHlatholana (3) according to Bryant & Sim. = Turraea chtusifolia Hochst., a very strong cathartic-drink, demanding great caution. (1, NKA) Phytolacca octandra.
- 1152. umHlavuth(w)a (general) Rhicinus communis L., the Castor Oil Plant, all over in Natal and Zululand besides Tongaland. General in Tongaland, Afzelia cuanzensis Welw. umHlavuthwa wehlathi, an Euphorbiacea, similar to the Castor Oil Plant. (NS, NUB, NIN).
- 1153. umHlavuza, probably the same as umHlavuthwa.
- 1154. i(li)Hlawe (1) according to Bryant a small plant whose edible seed-pods hang curled down like pairs of little horns. Cf. i(li)-Hlawi.
- 1155. *i(li)Hlawi*, according to Bews *Strophanthus DC*. with seed-pods like pairs of horns, but believed by scientists to be poisonous. Cf. *i(li)Hlawe*.
- 1156. umHlayane (N & T, W & S), a shrub yielding a good stick.
- 1157. umHlaza=umHlata (Swazi), umBondwe, uTshawangu, a tuberfood to be cooked like sweet potatoes, planted all over as delicacy for the Natives in Zululand, Plectranthus esculentus N. E. Br.
- 1158. u(lu)Hlazaluthi, probably a variety of *Plectranthus esculentus*, Zulu potato which came in olden times with them from the North. It is widely used from the Bantu of Kongo, etc.
- 1159. i(li)Hlazane, according to Bews the same as umHlezane.
- 1160. i(li)Hlazane (general) Cassinopsis capensis, (NO, NMA) Acima tetracantha. Both shrubs have very green branches, hence the name.
- 1161. u(lu)Hlazavuku=Pteridium aquilinum (NIN), the eagle-fern.
- 1162. umHlazawentaba (2) according to Mogg 6222 Vernonia hirsuta.
 Roots sipped in hot milk against sore throat and coughs.
- 1163. umHlazazane (1) Strophanthus speciosus.
- 1164. *uHlazazana*, according to Bryant a small plant growing in damp soiled meadows and used as *amakha*.
- 1165. inHlazi (1, NND) Aloe arboreascens (B.O. Miller).
- 1166. isiHlazi, certain herb whose roots are used as an emetic by aba-Ngoma and also in coast malarial districts as a valuable remedy for fever. One record points to Gladiolus aurantiacus Klatt.
- 1167. inHlazo, according to the Native doctor Biyela, a medicine plant (ND).

- 1168. umHlebe (1) according to Bews a wild olive tree, Olea spec.
- 1169. isiHlehle (general). Originally there were two kinds of this plant found in Zululand, one eaten, a little Stapeliea, and the other kind not. The latter are all small and succulent Euphorbias, e.g. Euphorbia truncata, enormis, Knuthii, passa, Franksiae, Woodii, grandicornis, Caput Medusae, pulvinata, etc. They have latex and are usually only eaten by rhinos and wild pigs. Later on they applied this name to the prickly-pears, Opuntia from America, of which there are about 250 different kinds.
- 1170. inHlekabayeni (1, NZ), a wild cucumber.
- 1171. isiHlengehle, Euphorbia shrub like E. basutica Mogg 7222.
- 1172. isiHlenhle (general), the same as isiHlehle.
- 1173. inHlezane (1) according to Bryant a kind of long succulent grass chewed by children.
- 1174. uHlezane, Hickory-King mealies, from the small i(li)Hleza or cob, Cf. imVutwamini (N). Also a certain bush (Ochna arborea) (S & X).
- 1175. umHlezane (1) according to Bews Ochna arborea Burch., usually called umThelelo.
- 1176. umHlibe, Curtisia faginea (1, Burt Darty) (W & S).
- 1177. umHlofunga (general W & S) Acacia Xanthophloae Bth., the fever-tree.
- 1178. isiHlohlela (1, NZ) a big tree of the sand dunes probably Allophylus melanocarpus.
- 1179. isiHloko, (2, NIN), Cassinopsis capensis, a shrub or tree of the transition from forest to the grasslands.
- 1180. inHlokoshane, the same as inHlokoshiyane.
- 1181. isiHlokoshane, the same as inHlokoshiyane.
- 1182. inHlokoshiyane (general), nearly all kinds of the sixty Rhus. They distinguish between inHlokoshiyane enkulu, the Rhus Legati Schönl., a big forest tree and the other small trees occurring mostly in the bushveld: inHlokoshiyane encane. Another distinction is I. yehlathi and I. yehlanze, this of the forest and that of the bushveld. Rhus villosus is called I. enoboya; Rhus Sonderi, I. emhlophe; Rhus discolor is called I. yotshani, some others according to the bark I. epofu, ebomvu and emnyama. Some like Rhus dentata, Rhus Sonderi and Rhus discolor have edible berries. Some like Rhus villosa have a ruby red heart-wood which is used as dye (cf. umHlakothi).

- 1183. *inHlola* (1) according to Bryant the same as *imPengu*, a small plant used by witch-doctors.
- 1183a. isiHlola (general, W & S), an unnamed Sapotacea, (M.S.), a tree of the mistbelt-forests.
- 1184. i(li)Hlolane (1) according to Bews, Piper prob. capense L., the wild Pepper.
- 1185. inHlolothi (1, NES), a poisonous grass, if not a tulip.
- 1186. u(lu)Hlomantethe olukhulu (1, NZ Ngoye), a shrub, probably Phyllanthus spec. (Cf. uHlomantethe oluncane).
- 1187. u(lu)Hhlomantethe (oluncane) (general), different kinds of indigofera-shrubs, which have usually pink flowers. You may often find dead locusts hanging on it. Hence the name. Perhaps the result of Prussic acid produced by the plant: e.g. Indigofera hilaris, endecaphylla, gerrardiana, hedyantha, fastigiata, etc. Some of them yield the blue indigo dye.
- 1188. u(lu)Hlonga, a few species of grasses, lighter than isiQunga, but used as well for thatching, e.g. Cymbopogon hirtus L. (Mogg 6745)
- 1189. u(lu)Hlonge, the same as u(lu)Hlonga.
- 1190. u(lu)Hlongo, a big grass used for thatching, e.g. Cymbopogon Thunbergii (Mogg 6798) and Cymbopogon validus with ciliate ligules (Mogg 6799.)
- 1191. u(lu)Hlongohlongo (1) according to Bews, Setaria sulcata Raddi., a common grass in forest-margins.
- 1192. umHlongohlongo, (1) according to Mogg 716, Eragrostis plana.
- 1193. u(lu)Hlengwa (1, NES) a grass.
- 1194. umHlonhlo (general) the two large tree-euphorbias of Natal and Zululand: Euphorbia ingens, the very big one but less lobed on branches and Euphorbia Cooperi with very deeply lobed branches. The latter is very poisonous. The former less so and has a great reputation as cure against cancer. Herbalists mix a small quantity of latex with plenty of sugar and give one or two grains as a purgative. Ignorant quacks sometimes kill people by dosing too much.
- 1195. inHlonhlwane (general), all species of the Euphorbia-trees and shrubs smaller than umHlonhlo, e.g. Euphorbia grandidens, triangularis, tetragona, evansii, grandicornis, etc. They all have a poisonous latex. Also a plant without latex, Cissus quadrangularis L., a succulent vine.
- 1196. isiHlonhlwane, the same as inHlonhlwane.

- 1197. umHlonhlwane, all species of the Euphorbia-trees and shrubs smaller than umHlonhlo, (Cf. inHlonhlwane).
- 1198. umHlonhlwanyane (2, NMA) a succulent vine Cissus quadrangularis, growing all over in the bushveld of Zululand.
- 1199. umHlonisho (2, NP) the same as umHlonishwa.
- 1200. umHlonishwa (general) Psoralea pinnata L., a herbacious Leguminose with beautiful blue flowers. It is burned by the Natives for warding away the lightning.
- 1201. uHlonyane (1) according to Watt the same as iNyathelo, Vernonia Woodii O. Hoffmann, used as enema.
- 1202. umHlonyane (general also in Xhosa and Swazi) Artemisia afra Jacq., the African Wormwood, which is used (two handsful of leaves) as tea against colds and as enema for children. A substitute is Cotula anthemoides.
- 1203. umHlonyane womlambe (S & X) Matricaria nigellifolia D.C. and Matricaria globifera. A paste of the leaves is used in the treatment of skin affections.
- 1204. uHlonyise (2, NES, NZ) Secamone Gerrardi Harv., an asclepia-daceous climber with latex.
- 1205. u(lu)Hlonzane, (a malarial fever hence) a certain fungus growing about a kraal and supposed to bring fever.
- 1206. i(li)Hlonzi, a variation of i(li)Hlozi.
- 1207. umHlonzo (1) Clematis brachiata Thb., "The Traveller's Joy," a climber in forest and bushveld, usually called umHlanhlathi.
- 1207a. isiHlophe, (general NIN). Allophylus africana DC., a little tree with whitish bark (hence the name) of the mistbelt-forests.
- 1208. *i(li)Hlosa*, n. according to Bryant a kind of kafir-corn having black-husked and large sized grains; a kind of tall growing *imfe* with an ear resembling the aforesaid.
- 1209. isiHlasa (1) according to Bryant a Veld-plant, having a raceme of tiny white flowerlets, and used as a specific for ophthalmia and similar eye diseases.
- 1210. uHlosa (S & X) Gnidia ovalifolia Meissn., a shrub.
- 1211. umHloshazana, "The Whitish Plant," a name applied to many plants with whitish leaves or stems; e.g. Allophylus, africanus, transvaalensis, Trichocladus crinitus, Ilex mitis, Helichrysum griseum, latifolium, etc., Plantago, Rubus Ludwigii, etc.

- 1212. umHlosinga = Acacia Xanthophloea Benth., a thorn tree, fifty ft. high with green powdery bark, common in Northern Zululand: Fevertree. Old Dutchmen said it causes the malaria fever. An incorrect "Post hoc, propter hoc" conclusion.
- 1213. umHlovane (2), prob. S & X, Calpurnia intrusa E.M., a tree, the leaves of which have vermin-killing qualities.
- 1214. umHloyampunzi (1, NND) Grewia flava D.C., a little tree in bushveld yielding very good sticks.
- 1215. i(li)Hloza, white-flowering climber used medicinally for a cold in the head, the same as i(li)Hlozi, Mikania capensis D.C.
- 1216. u(lu)Hloza=Veld-plant whose pods and leaves are eaten as imiMfino.
- 1217. i(li)Hlozana (1) according to Watt Thephrosia macropoda E. Mey. (Cf. i(li)Lozane), a creeping herb.
- 1218. i(li)Hlozi (general). There are several species of creeping Composites (Senecio tamoides, D.C., Senecio quinquelobus Dc., Mikania capensis DC., Vernania spec.) which are called i(li)Hlozi lehlathi, lemmfula, elimhlophe, elikhulu, etc. (1) According to Bews they call i(li)Hlozi also Cnestis natalensis, Pl. & Sond., a scrambling Connaracea growing in the mistbelt-forests.
- 1219. i(li)Hlozi elikhulu=Senecio tamoides DC. according to Watt used against Anthrax and Quarter evil.
- 1220. *i(li)Hloxi elimhlophe=Mikania capensis*, a creeper along the rivers having a beautiful white bloom.
- 1221. i(li)Hlozi elincane=Senecio Quinquelobus DC., a climber of the forests.
- 1222. i(li)Hlozi lehlathi L, (NKA) the same as umSikisiki, Vernoma spec.
- 1223. inHlubu (general) the Native sugar-bean, all over cultivated = Voandzeia subterranea Thonars.
- 1224. umHluhluwe (general) Dalbergia armata E.M., the thorny monkey rope. A piece of this climber is worn round the neck by a man who has killed another. It is also used to make a nozzle to fix round the snout of calves to keep them from taking milk from their mother by stealth.
- 1225. umHlukazi (2, NKA)=Syzygium spec., a myrtle tree of the Nkandla forest, a soft timber, the red fruits of which are edible.
- 1226. *i(li)Hlukwe*, (general) Zante deschia aethiopica Spreng., the common white Arum Lily, the leaves of which are eaten as *imMfino*.

- 1227. *i(li)Hlula (2) Crassula sarcocaulis*, a little shrublet used as sprin'-ling medicine. (1) Also used for *Senecio crbiculata*. The ashes of its roots are used as vaccination powder.
- 1228. umHlulambazo (general NIN & W & S)=Notobuxus natalensis Oliv., the boxwattle, plentiful in Gwaliweni Forest (NIN).
- 1229. umHlulamithi (1) according to Bews, a kind of Phylica L.
- 1230. i(li)Hlule (1) according to Bryant roots used against dysentry.
- 1231. *i(li)Hlule lemamba*, probably *Secamone Gerrardi*, a climber used together with *umKhuhlu*-bark as a drastic purgative.
- 1232. umHluluozi (1, N & T) according to Sim., Eugenia cwariensis P. Beaur.
- 1233. umHluma, the same as umHlume.
- 1234. isiHlumbelo or isiHlumbeyo (1) according to Weintroub a plant with edible parts.
- 1235. umHlume (general) Adina Galpini Oliv., a huge tree growing on the banks of rivers like Mkuzi and north of it. It has an astringent bark and the whole tree is used for making canoes.
- 1236. umHlumuthwa (1, NKA Qudeni) the same as umDoni wehlathi= Syzygium Gerrardi, a tree of the mistbelt forests.
- 1237. isiHlunga (1) according to Bews, Protea hirta, a sugar-bush.
- 1238. u(lu)Hlungahlunga, according to Bews the same as u(lu)Hlungu-hlungu.
- 1239. isiHlungu (general) "Any Snake Antidote," but locally also used for certain plants: e.g. uMunyumunyane, ubuHlungu bemamba, ubuHlungu besigcawu, inHlungunyembe, Gamolepis laxa, Geranium ornithopodium, Chlorophytum elatum, Barosma spec., Arthroselen (isiDikili), Teucrium riparium, etc.
- 1240. ubuHlungu (S & X) the same as isiHlungu.
- 1241. ubuHlungu-becanti (S & X) Eucomis punctata L'Herit., a lily the root of which is used as anti-rheumatic. (One spoonful).
- 1242. ubuHlungu-bedila (S & X) Cluytia heterophylla Thb. and Cluytia hirsuta E.M. shrubs used together with Aloe and Pteroxylon utile against anthrax.
- 1243. ußuHlungu-ßemamba (S & X) Melianthus comosus Vahl., Melianthus major L. Also Clivia miniata Regel, the St. John's Lily.
- 1244. ubuHlungu bendlovu (2), a herbal medicine against hysteria.

- 1245. ubuHlungu benyoka (S & X) the same as in Hlungunyembe, Acocanthera and Monsonia obovata.
- 1246. ubuHlungu benyushu (S & X), Teucrium africanum Thunb., a herb.
- 1247. ubuHlungu besigcawu (S & X) Crabbea nana Nees, a herb and Blepharis capensis, another herb, antidotes against snake-bite.
- 1248. ubuHlungu beyima (1) according to Watt, Chivia miniata Regel, the St. John's Lily.
- 1249. uHlungumhloshane, according to Bryant the same as uHlambahloshane, Gerbera Kraussii Sch. Bip & Vernonia Kraussii Sch. Bip., two Composite-herbs.
- 1250. u(lu)Hlunguhlungu (general), Vernonia corymbosa Less. The very peppery root of this shrub is used for doctoring calves, for stomachache in human beings and to procure abortion. Also used against hysteric fits and as iNembe. Substitutes are Printzia pyrifolia (NIM) and Brachylaena dentata (Mogg 6725).
- 1251. ubuHlunguhlwange (1), according to Bryant a grey-leafed bush.
- 1252. *i(li)Hlungu lesilungu* (1), *Nerium Oleander*, an imported but very poisonous shrub with beautiful red sweetly scented flowers.
- 1253. uHlungumenye (1, NKA), a tree of the mistbelt-forest.
- 1254. inHlungunyembe (very general name in Zulu and Xhosa). Bushmen's Poison-bush, Giftboom, Acceanthera venemata G. Don and Acceanthera spectabilis Hk. f., a shrub, seldom a little tree of the bush-veld with pungent leaves and purple grape-like berries. The root-bark was used by the Bushmen as poison for their arrows; it is still used to destroy marauding dogs and hyenas. A small piece of leaf or root is used as an emetic to cure snake-bite, hence the name.
- 1255. isiHlungu sikankonka, (1, NES)=Canthium ciliatum, a thorny shrub.
- 1256. i(li)Hlunguthi (N & T) according to Sim. Commiphora harveyi Engl., a tree.
- 1257. u(lu)Hlungwana (general), Wedelia natalensis. Sond. A Composite with a yellow daisy-flower. Tea of the leaves very good in feverish conditions, used as emetic and enema. Also very good as substitute of the European Chamonilla in curing wounds and sores.
- 1258. umHlungwane (1) according to Sim (S) Xymalos monospora, a tree.

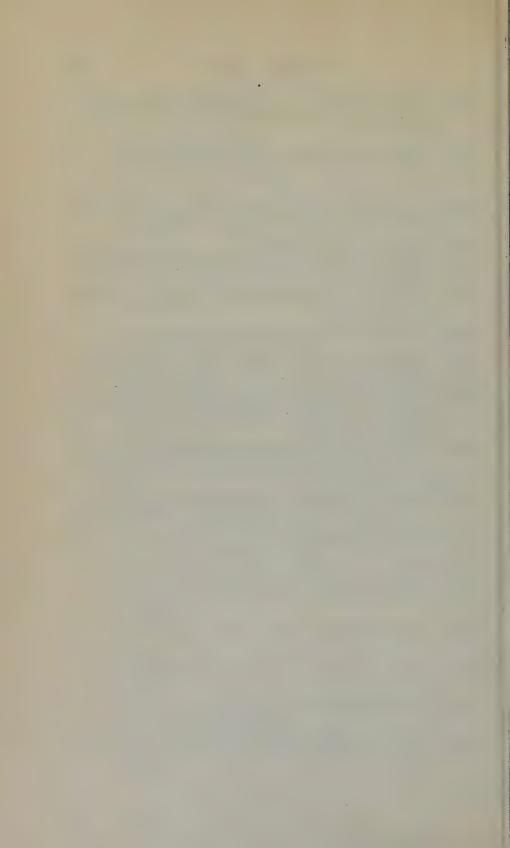
- 1259. umHlungwana (2) according to Bews and Watt, Aster asper Nees, commonly called u(lu)Dlutshana, a herb with a nice blue daisy-flower.
- 1260. inHlunu yembuzi (general) Pavetta caffra and Pavetta lanceolata, the Christmas-tree with a beautiful white bloom (usually called umSunumbuzi).
- 1261. inHlunu yewabayi (1, NZ), a big tree of the forests.
- 1262. inHlunu yomntwana (general) Vangueria latifolia, with edible fruits, the remaining calyx of the fruit gives the Zulus this rather ugly imagination. Very common in the grasslands of the coast-district, etc.
- 1263. amaHlunzulu (N & T) Artabotrys Monteiroae Oliv., a Climber in bush.
- 1264. i(li)Hlusi(1, Watt), the same as umGxamu, a common tree.
- 1265. inHluthe (1, NES) a herbalist's medicine to strengthen the heart. Probably Protorhus longifolia. Some other records point to Rapanea melanophloeos or Rhus lanceolata. The latter two may be substitutes of the first one.
- 1266. in Hluthi (1) according to Chapman, Rhus lanceolata.
- 1267. inHluthi or umHluthi wehlathi (general in Natal)=Protorhus longifolia, a common forest-tree.
- 1268. umHluthi wejinga, a plant of Natal.
- 1269. umHluthi wentaba=Rapanea melanophloes, a forest tree.
- 1270. i(li)Hluze, probably the same as inHluthe, Protorhus longifolia Eng., a tree of the forests. Sometimes also used for Rapanea melanophloeos (inHluthe yentaba).
- 1271. isiHlwa (1) according to Bryant a species of long grass growing in wet soil.
- 1272. umuHlwa (2) a grass according to Mogg 3866 Eragrostis spec.
- 1273. umHlwagela=umHlwagele.
- 1274. umHlwagele (general) Drypetes Gerrardi Hutchin, a large tree like our European beech with hard, white timber, by the Natives used for sticks (izinduku zamadoda).
- 1275. umHlwakele, the same as umHlwagele.
- 1276. uHlwalana (1, NES)=Adhatoda Duvernoia C.B. Cl., an undershrub in forests.

- 1277. umHlwambabala, ("Bushbuck's fodder,") several Acanthaceae like Barleria obtusa, Justicia flava, etc., which are the favourite fodder of the bush-buck.
- 1278. umHlwampunzi (general), Grewia flava DC., good for sticks.

 Duikers are fond of the fruits.
- 1279. inHlwashane, the same as umHlashane.
- 1280. umHlwathe (1) according to Mogg 3867, a grass, Agrostis lachnantha Nees.
- 1281. inHlwathi (1) according to Colenso small edible herbs.
- 1282. umHlwathi (umNqumo) (general) Olea verrucosa Link., very good for isagila, iwisa, induku, umkhonto, etc. Valuable forest-tree, the wild Olive.
- 1283. umHlwayampunzi (1) Sapium reticulatum Pax, a shrub or tree, the fruits of which are used for tanning.
- 1284. umHlwazi (general, sold by all herbalists as a remedy against flatulence), probably (only leaves not yet flowers secured) fide Herbarii Nationalis: Catha edulis Forsk., Boesmanstee, a rather very rare tree of the Protea-veld and fringes of the mistbelt-forests.
- 1285. umHlwazimamba (3) a certain climber, the root of which is eaten and smoked for headache, used as emetic, etc.
- 1286. umHlwehlwe (general in Zululand) Xymalos monospora Baill., the Lemonwood, a common, often dominant tree in all our forests.
- 1287. isiHlwo (1) a coarse water grass.
- 1288. umHobohobo (W & S) Anthocleista zambesiaca, a tree of Swaziland.
- 1289. i(li) Hobosha (1) according to Bryant a variety of pumpkin having a green rind with white spots resembling more or less the spots on the back of the puffadder. Hence the name. (Another name is isiKhuthwana).
- 1290. i(li)Hogwe, the same as uMahogo, Sonchus oleraceus L., a wild lettuce.
- 1291. *i(li)Hohe* (W & S) according to Weintroub 52, a plant with edible parts.
- 1292. uHohoze (1) according to Mogg 6173, Riocreuxia torulosa Deene, a climber used as imiMfino.
- 1292a. umHohla (W & S), the same as umHohlo; durable wood for fencing.

- 1293. umHohlo (NIN, N & T, W & S) Bolusanthus speciosus or elephantwood tree, the beautiful wild Wisteria tree, growing in the northern bushveld only.
- 1294. isiHomohomo (W & S), a tree, prob. Lonchocarpus capassa.
- 1295. umHonono (W & S) Terminalia sericea, a common tree of the northern bushveld.
- 1296. *iHubo* (general) probably *Senecio concolor DC*., a Composite with a fine scent, used as *amaKha*. (Mogg 5754 & 6165).
- 1297. i(li)Hubu, the same as i(li)Hubo.
- 1298. umHudisane (1) according to Bryant a veld-plant, whose roots are used as a purgative.
- 1299. umHulana (1) according to Bews, a kind of Turraea, a shrub of the Syringe family.
- 1300. umHuluga (W & S) Croton gratissimus, a shrub.
- 1301. i(li) Hulugudlu (1, NES) = Asparagus laricinus, a thorny shrub.
- 1302. i(li)Huma (1) according to Bryant, the large grained mealies.
- 1303. umHungulo (general) a love charm emetic, "hence the name" "the allurer"; probably the bulb of the rock-palm, Encephalartos Altensteinii and caffra.
- 1304. umHushuza (3, NES & NKA) Aristea eckloni Baker, a beautifully blue-flowering lily, leaves are used for enema to relieve umkhuhlane and syphilis.
- 1305. umHuwa (1, NUB & NIN)=Monadenium Lugardae N.E. Br., a succulent shrub. The strongest purgative. One drop of latex sufficient. Very poisonous!

(To be continued)



BOOK REVIEWS

An African Survey, A Study of Problems arising in Africa South of the Sahara, by Lord Hailey: Oxford University Press, pp. 1837 + xxviii, 1938, 21/- net.

It is impossible for a single reviewer to attempt to review this epochmaking survey of present-day conditions in Africa. It is so many-sided in the subject-matter dealt with, that the only satisfactory type of review is such a one as was undertaken by a group of specialist contributors for the Royal African Society.* This review alone comprises a publication of some seventy pages, and is itself a real contribution to the subject dealt with in Hailey's great work.

Lord Hailey's work is a tremendous undertaking, the size of which can perhaps be slightly realised when it is seen that the Index alone occupies 170 pages double-column. The wide scope of the field covered may be gauged from the chapter headings, which deal with the distribution of the African peoples, African languages, population records, government (130 pages), law, non-European immigrant communities, Native Administration (200 pages), taxation, problems of labour (110 pages), the State and the land (160 pages), agriculture (100 pages), forests, water supply, soil erosion, health (100 pages), education (100 pages), economic development both external and internal (170 pages), mining and transport. The two final chapters are devoted to "The Future of African Studies" and an extensive Summary.

Lord Lugard, in a foreword to the Royal African Society's symposium, gave a striking tribute to Lord Hailey. "There are few living men," he wrote, "who would have dared to undertake and to carry to such a successful conclusion a task of such colossal magnitude. The organising ability to assemble and co-ordinate the work of an immense number of expert assistants; the tact and the ability to impress foreign and British Colonial authorities and gain their confidence and ready help; and the master-mind which added to a life's experience enabled Lord Hailey to draw his conclusions with admirable clarity, have made this work what it is." With this tribute I fully agree. The book is not one to be read straight through: it is so full of valuable and detailed data on each of the aspects dealt with, that it must act as a book of reference in regard to African problems for many years to come.

See "Lord Hailey's African Survey," supplement to the Journal of the Royal African Society, January, 1939.

Among other things in his "Survey," Lord Hailey has commented favourably on the work already accomplished by the International Institute of African Languages and Cultures in collecting data from all parts of Africa, in undertaking and stimulating research in Anthropology and Linguistics, and in acting as a Bureau of information on scientific problems dealing with Africa. This aspect of the survey has been appreciatively dealt with by Professor R. Coupland, Administrative Director of the Institute, in a review which appeared in the January number of Africa.

It is Lord Hailey's recommendations for future development and research that must demand immediate interest and attention. He emphasises the need for systematic research and collecting of data in every branch of African studies, and to this end suggests the establishment of a centralised African Bureau. While his proposals can only be made to the British Government Lord Hailey visualises international co-operation in the work of this Bureau. While recognising the work of the present International Institute, the plea is made for an institution with a wider and more comprehensive function embracing "practically every aspect of activity in Africa." Such a proposal necessarily entails the creation of a special fund for research, and an appeal is made to the British Treasury to this end, the initial expenditure being estimated at about £10,000 per annum.

In reading closely the chapter dealing with African language, two slight errors might be noted. On page 82 et seq. the word "Ngoni" has been erroneously substituted for "Nguni." The latter term applies to the group of Bantu languages, which include Zulu, Xhosa and Swazi, while the former term is that of the Nyasaland dialect of Zulu. On page 85 "the Karanga group in the west," which must be kept quite distinct from Karanga, one of the major groups in the Unification of Shona.

Workers in Africa and upon African problems are tremendously indebted to Lord Hailey and his collaborators for this mine of information now at their disposal. The Oxford University Press is to be congratulated upon a splendid production, and the price is one which makes it easily accessible to all.

C.M.D.

Capital Investment in Africa—Its Course and Effects, by S. Herbert Frankel. London: Oxford University Press 1938. Price 10s. 6d.

Our South African economic literature has been considerably enriched by the publication of this valuable piece of research by Professor Frankel. Though it is a study of Africa, South of the Sahara, it remains pre-eminently a South African publication, since the South African

development and experience have been so phenomenal that it overshadows the rest of the countries dealt with and at the same time serves as an example for the rest of the continent.

It is a remarkable tale of how modern economic development requires capital; how capital will not be forthcoming if there are not reasonable prospects of a fair return on the investment; how governments are forced to step in if there is no private investment and directly to make a minimum amount of capital available or indirectly by the granting of mineral and land concessions to chartered companies; how steps must be taken to ensure a return on such investments; how the discovery of minerals simplified this problem but at the same time brought about an economic revolution; how fortunate it is that in mineral industries, more than in any other type of industry, employment can be found for large numbers of the relatively unskilled Natives, since mining is usually concentrated and easily supervised.

Prof. Frankel estimates that £1,222,000,000 of foreign capital has been supplied to Africa, South of the Sahara, of which amount nearly one half has been invested by governments and public authorities, while a large part of the balance has been invested in connection with mining and exploration activities. What such capital investment has meant to the continent is indicated by the statements that a railway train of average capacity and engine power does the work of 15,000 to 20,000 carriers for one fifth to one tenth of the cost; while it would require the continued labour of 2,000 men to transport 100 tons of produce per month over not more than 100 miles.

There is no space to deal with this treatise in detail. Suffice it to say that it is a mine of information which is well worth exploring. The chapters on the significance of mining to South Africa will probably be eye-openers to most readers, while the discussion of our agricultural and labour problems will afford much food for thought for all serious thinkers about the future of this country.

Professor Frankel's conclusions are largely summed up in the following extracts:—

"In the last resort—the future of capital investment, like the future of all African progress, will depend on freeing the African peoples from the factors which have checked their progress in the past, and the artificial restrictions which in some territories still prevent the unfolding of their abilities....

"If twentieth century experience in Africa has proved anything at all, it is that the wealth of Africa has, as yet, hardly been discovered

simply because it lies deep in the soil of Africa itself. Only by the co-operant efforts of Africans and Europeans will it be unearthed; undue haste will destroy much of it. It is patient united effort that is needed."

The publication is remarkable on account of the mass of valuable information and figures which have been collected and brought together in one volume. Apart from the detailed studies of the individual territories, the volume contains no fewer than 102 statistical tables, six charts and two maps. It was a gigantic task in which Professor Frankel was fortunate enough to have the aid of a statistical assistant as well as a private secretary.

Above all, however, credit is due to the Carnegie Corporation of New York for its most enlightened policy of appropriating the funds it has at its disposal. Thanks to the Corporation our South African library system has been put on a more satisfactory foundation. Thanks to the Corporation, the most exhaustive and extensive study of our poor White problem has been made and attention has been focussed on that problem as never before. And now once more through the enlightened generosity of the Corporation, a study of the problems arising in Africa, South of the Sahara, of which this volume forms a part, has been made possible. Thus our knowledge of African affairs and problems has been considerably increased and attention has again been focussed on the logical economic policy for the future. No future rulers of these territories will, therefore, be able to plead ignorance and lack of guidance when some day they stand perplexed at the situation they have themselves created as a result of their policies of political expedience, rather than obvious economic realities.

E. H. D. ARNOT.

University of Pretoria.

Die Bambuti-Pygmäen vom Ituri: Ergebnisse Zweier Forschungsreisen zu den Zentralafrikanischen Pygmäen in drei Bänden von Paul Schebesta. Bruxelles, 1938, pp. 438, pl. 32, map 1.

"A more welcome gift on the occasion of my seventieth birthday could scarcely have been afforded to me than the dedication to me by my dear pupil and friend P. P. Schebesta of his great work on Pygmies." In these words the veteran anthropologist W. Schmidt heralds the first series of this monumental work. The second series will deal with the Asiatic Negritos, but in the three volumes incorporated in the series before us Schebesta has given us the most complete account hitherto available of the Central-African pygmy folk.

The first volume (142 pp.) deals with the historical side of the subject and with geographical and demographical studies (i.e. the environment of the pygmies); the second volume (211 pp.) analyses the biology, physiology and pathology of the people and then discusses their morphology—this section being amplified by a valuable account of the skeleton (based on five specimens) by Professor J. Matiegka; the third volume (85 pp.) discusses the relationships of the Ituri-Bambuti to the other pygmy folk in Africa. The whole work is amplified by the original tables of somatometrical figures and indices, an index of contents, the plates and a map.

Of so weighty a treatise covering an incomparable wealth of data concerning this obscure and little-studied human group, it is difficult to speak in terms other than the highest prase. We owe this great extension of anthropological knowledge not only to the devoted enthusiasm of the author and the original stimulus of his master but to the financial assistance of the Hrdlicka—and University—funds in Prague, of the Association of German Science and of the "Institute Colonial Belge" as well as of W. Koppers, the Director of the Institute of Ethnology in Vienna. Apart from these sources, Schebesta was helped by missionary establishments throughout the territory and on the scientific side by J. Matiegka, V. Lebzelter, E Fischer, J. Jadin, J. Julien and others who lent their willing aid in the field or in the laboratory, determining blood groups, classifying finger prints, making blood counts, etc., to provide the accompanying data.

His popular works Among Congo Pygmies (London, 1935); My Pygmy and Negro Hosts (London, 1936); and Revisiting my Pygmy Hosts (London, 1936) have already familiarised many English readers with the author's experiences in Africa and the habits of the folk he studied. Similar popular works in German and his scientific papers in French and German and especially the monograph (jointly with V. Lebzelter and published by the Czech Academy of Sciences and Arts) on Anthropology of the Central African Pygmies in the Belgian Congo (Prague, 1933) with summaries in English for each chapter, had already drawn international attention to the earlier results of his studies. In this work the evidence is collated and extended and final conclusions are drawn. Amongst these, perhaps the most significant for workers in South Africa are those to which the author was led as a result of the investigations carried out in the Kalahari and published by this journal during 1937.

He pays a tribute to the present reviewer's services in revealing the Bush and Boskop racial components which go to make up the Bushmen

of to-day. He accepts these conclusions and says: "Die Buschrasse ist mit der Bambutirasse (ihrer Hauptkomponente) identisch." He finds too, as was then suggested, that the Boskop type is present amongst the Bambuti but to a far lesser extent than it emerges amongst the Bushmen. Quoting my conclusions about the common heritage and common ancestry of the Bush-Pygmy and the Boskop stocks, he says: "Damit wäre der Zusammenhang zwischen Bambuti und Buschmannern geklärt. Dart's Forschungen ermöglichten es mir, meine bisherigen Vermutungen über die Zusammensetzung der Buschmänner zu konkretisieren." He therefore strongly contests the concept conveyed in Montandon's "race négre paléotropicale " or V. Eickstedt's " palänegrid " people, that the Negro type emerged from some pymoid Negro people of the forest such as Johnston described amongst the Semliki in the vicinity of Ruwenzori. To Schebesta such highly prognathic pygmy "forest-negro" types are contact phenomena, hybrids between Negro and Bambuti (or Pygmy) to which other races, particularly the Boskop, may also have contributed; if they must have a name he would suggest "Negro-Bambutid" as a more appropriate term.

Thus a decade of intensive study from every available angle leads him to conclude that the Bambuti are the racially genuine Pygmies; that they are an enclosed and sharply defined race clearly distinguishable from all other races; that the Bambuti race is not homogeneous but comprises several racial components; that the Bambutoid folk are hybrid peoples with a basis of Bambuti blood; that the Bushmen are a group similar to the Bambutoid folk; that the "Forest Negroes" are a contact-product between Bambuti and Negro and neither an ancestral Negro stock nor the stock from which the Bambuti arose; that the "degeneration-theory" is untenable as an explanation of the Bambuti and that these Pygmies are amongst all the peoples of the earth most closest related to the Negro and may therefore be rightly termed Negroid.

Whatever modification of these deductions may be necessitated by future study, there can be no question that this compendium of knowledge will remain the classical source of information about the structure, environment and distribution of these tiny denizens of the African Equatorial belt for many years to come. The frequent typographical slips in the text, whether in German, French or English, unfortunately mar to some extent a production which, by its inclusiveness and balance, serves as a model of the type of investigation, that could be repeated on numerous African racial groups with enormous advantage to our anthropological knowledge.

RAYMOND A. DART.

Mekgwa le Mela6 ya Batswana (Customs and laws of the Batswana) edited by I. Schapera (Lovedale Press, 202 pp. 5/-).

During his field investigations in the Bechuanaland Protectorate, doing an intensive tribal study of the Kgatla and a wider survey, which resulted in the publication of his "Handbook of Tswana Law and Customs." Professor Schapera has made an indirect contribution of great value to Bantu studies, as far as they affect the Tswana area. He has encouraged administrative officials to record valuable information concerning the tribes, some of which has been published in the journal of Bantu Studies, and now, from the work before us, we see some of the fruits of his encouragement to Native writers to make records of their history, customs, laws and beliefs. This is of especial value in the Tswana area, where vernacular publication is so badly needed. The contributors to this volume are numerous and are drawn from several of the major Tswana tribes, particularly the Kwena, Ngwaketse, Ngwato and Kgatla. The subjects covered are also varied ranging from family customs at marriage, initiation and death, and community subjects of administration, land and inheritance, to Native beliefs in magic, witchcraft, rain-making and taboos.

This book, apart from the use to which it is likely to be put for educational purposes, will prove of great value to language students of Tswana, embodying, as it does, within one cover, typical examples of several dialectal forms of Tswana, all rendered in the one common orthography, which has been agreed upon by the education authorities and the administrations. It is to be hoped that this publication will go far to convince waverers that the new orthography is a really workable vehicle for Tswana. Only when the variety of individual orthographies is done away with, will the development of Tswana literature advance.

One error of printing must be pointed out: the cover and title page have "Melao" which should read "Melao." A publication of this sort should bear a date also.

C.M.D.

Chibemba Note Book, by T. S. L. Fox-Pitt (Longmans, 84 pp. 1939).

This little note-book of Bemba vocabulary with interleaved blanks for additions embodies the sound idea of providing an incentive to the busy man, traveller or other, to acquire something of the language. The words chosen as a basis seem sound, but it is a great pity that the author should have departed from accepted orthography. Except by mistake he has omitted all initial vowels of nouns: this should have been explained;

he has no sound rule for the use of *i* and *y*, e.g. *mia* should be *miya*; fiuka and fyula both occur. The little grammatical section seems hardly worth while, and there is no sound guide to pronunciation, for instance what is the difference between ng and ng'? The learner will want to know. Proof reading seems to have been very careless. "Schoeffe" (intro.) should read "Schoeffer"; inkasi yandi (p. 76) shiandi; ba shi le tina (p. 80) ba le shi tina (note the author's warning just above). Among others we note p. 9 sekwele, 11 fitike, 44 kobehele, 62 tutembala, etc.

C.M.D.

RECENT ZULU PUBLICATIONS

Messrs. Shuter & Shooter have added three more Zulu publications to the valuable series of school and other readers which they are publishing.

Untiningwe, Inja yakwaZulu (110 pp. illus.1/6) is a Standard I reader prepared by C. J. Mpanza and illustrated by J. Polson. This humorous story of a dog should prove of intense interest to the scholars.

Ilanga likaNgqeleBeana (146 pp. illus. 2/-) is a Standard II reader written by G. S. Mthiya and quaintly illustrated by W. Mdlalose, contains folk tales and other stories, the continued nature of some of which is calculated to sustain interest.

Umendo kaDokotela (118 pp. illus. 1/-) is a Health Reader prepared by Dr. L. E. Hertslet and illustrated by Mrs. Hertslet, C. J. Mpanza being responsible for the Zulu version. This little book aims, first of all, to reach the children of the schools, but the material it contains should be of service and interest to all sections of the Zulu population in their homes. The sections appear in the form of letters and the illustrations are designed for easy reproduction on the blackboard. The simplicity and general appeal of the lessons in this book are to be commended and it should be of great assistance in improving the understanding of health matters among the Zulu everywhere.

The Lovedale Press has commenced a new series of Readers, The Stewart Zulu Readers, being adaptations and translations of the Stewart Xhosa Reader series. The editor is W. G. Bennie. We have received the Primer (60 pp. illus., 1939, 6d.) and the Infant Reader (64 pp. illus. 1939, 7d.). These have been prepared with the collaboration of G. B. Molefe, and constitute a sound beginning of what should be a very valuable graded series.

C.M.D.

Iziduko zama-Hlubi, by H. M. Ndawo (Lovedale Press, 40 pp. 1939).

Ndawo is already well known for several publications, particularly uNolishwa and Uhambo lukaGqoboka. This publication treats of the ancestral names of the Hlubi people, and the izibongo or praises connected with a large number of them. It contains considerable matter of historical and anthropological interest, and is of no mean literary importance in Xhosa.

C.M.D.

Text Book of Lamba Grammar: by Clement M. Doke, M.A., D. Litt. Witwatersrand University Press, Johannesburg, 1938. viii +484 pp.

In this new work, which supersedes his previous Grammar of the Lamba Language, Professor Doke has applied to Lamba the principles of classification and nomenclature adopted in his Text Book of Zulu Grammaz and his Bantu Linguistic Terminology, and has given, in the clear and concise manner to which he has accustomed us, a comprehensive account of Lamba phonetical, morphological and syntactical structure, besides much useful material on the lexicology and idiom of the language.

The book contains, besides a short preface, a detailed table of contents, and a full index, twenty-four chapters, dealing respectively with the phonetical structure (I), the grammatical structure in general (II), the morphology in detail (III-XVII), foreign lexicological aquisitions (XVIII), the syntactical structure in general (XIX), the syntax of the four principal parts of speech in detail (XX-XXIII), and idiom (XXIV).

It is impossible, in the space at our disposal, to attempt an exhaustive review of the book, and we must content ourselves with noting very briefly and almost at random a few of the more salient features in which Lamba differs from the Southern Bantu languages with which, presumably, the majority of readers of this periodical are most familiar.

On the phonetic and phonological side, we are struck by the comparative poverty and simplicity of the consonant-system, and by the curious gaps found in the consonant-series which occur; by the frequent part played by significant vowel-length; by the simplicity and apparent rigidity of the tone-system; and by the number and complexity of the laws governing the influence of the homorganic nasals upon succeeding phones, and vice versa.

On the morphological side, we meet a greater number of nounclasses than in the South, and also the phenomenon, found rudimentarily in the Southern languages, but much more fully developed here, of nouns with double prefixes, both of which change in pluralformation, e.g. kamusi (small village), pl. tumisi-cf. umusi (village), pl. imisi. The number of compound nouns is also very great, and the manner of their formation very varied. Among pronouns, besides the usual four, where we find a particular richness of demonstratives, we also encounter a fifth type, the personal, formed from nouns and qualificative pronouns by means of first- and second-person concords, e.g. mwemfumu (you chiefs). Among qualificatives, full and short forms of the adjectival concords, corresponding to full and short nounprefixes (i.e. with and without initial vowels) are found. In the verb, there are three conjugations, two positive (the principal and the relative) and one negative; and seven tenses, a historic and a habitual being added to the usual five. There is also the usual number and variety of modal forms-moods, implications and manners. The number and variety of derivative verbs is particularly great, a very important proportion of such derivatives being formed from ideophones. On the other hand, we find an almost complete lack of deficient verbs (hitherto usually termed auxiliary), which play such an important part in the formation of compound tense-forms in the Southern languages. The wealth of ideophones in Lamba seems to be even greater than that in Nguni, the Southern group which makes most use of them.

The whole work is particularly rich in examples, and is a mine of idiomatic material, upon which the author is to be heartily congratulated. The University of the Witwatersrand and the Inter-University Committee for African Studies, which jointly made the publication possible, deserve thanks in this connection. The book was made and printed by the Replika Process by Messrs Percy Lund, Humphries and Co., Ltd., and is well done, on good paper, with a strong and serviceable binding.

G.P.L.

De Bakongo in hun taal: Spreekwoorden en Fabels, deur E. P. L. De Clercq, C.I.C.M. Congo Bibliotheek, Nieuwe Reeks, No. 4. Vromant and Co., Brussel, 1939. 296 blss.

In hierdie werk bied die skrywer ons aan 'n versameling spreekwoorde en fabels, wat hy van verskeie Kongo-sprekende segsmanne in hul taal opgeteken het, en van letterlike en idiomatiese verklarende vertaling sowel as van uitleg en kommentaar in Vlaams-

Nederlands voorsien het. Na 'n inleiding waarin, by wyse van voorproef, één fabel in certeks en letterlike vertaling gegee en dan haarfyn uitgelê en breedvoerig bekommenteer word, kry ons agtereenvolgens reekse spreekwoorde en fabels, op dieselfde manier behandel, in sewe hoofstukke, respektiewelik getitel God, De mensch, De heksen, De festisjen, Het huwelijk, De kinderen, Het dorp. Hierdie hoofde dek groot en belangrike dele van die stamlewe, en die daaronder gegroepeerde materiaal gee ons 'n breë kyk op die lewe van die Kongovolk soos dit in hulle spreekwoorde en fabels geskilder word. Maar die kyk is nie net breed nie, maar ook diep. Die skrywer verstaan die kuns om ons, in sy vertalings van die tekste, en in die bykomstige materiaal wat hy aanbied, diep en intiem te laat saamdink met die segsmanne in hul oereg-Afrikaanse gedagtegang, en om, waar hy die Afrikaan vir homself laat praat, ons ook prikkelend opmerksaam te maak op dié kante van sy sielelewe waarop ons besonder ag moet slaan. Die resensent voel wel dat die skrywer homself, wat uitleg en kommentaar aangaan, korter en bondiger kon uitgedruk het, iets minder op verleidende sypaaie kon gegaan het, en deur sorgvuldiger rangskikking van een en ander en herhalings kon vermy en 'n duideliker beeld van die samehang tussen die verskeidenhede kon gegee het. Hierdie kritiek neem egter nie weg nie dat ons aan die skrywer ons dank wil uitspreek vir sy arbeid, wat en die Afrikanistiese wetenskap en die Kongo-volk, wat hy blykbaar so fyn ken en so 'n warm hart toedra, 'n groot diens bewys het.

G.P.L.

The Land Rights of Individuals among the Nyakusa, by Godfrey Wilson.

This is the first of a series of detailed studies to be published by the Rhodes-Livingstone Institute on the sociology of modern Central Africa. The writer, Mr. Wilson, is a trained anthropologist who worked among the Nyakusa of South-West Tanganyika during the years 1934-8.

The situation which he describes is parallel to that in many parts of Africa. A tribe which until some fifty years ago was isolated and primitive has since been brought into complicated relationships with the outside world. Modern Nyakusa society produces food for an external market, serves as a labour reserve for European industries and the behaviour and attitudes of its people are being consciously changed by Western education. At the same time it still retains much of its traditional culture and even its new features take on a primitive stamp.

Laws regulating the holding of land by individuals in the traditional or changing Native culture have seldom been carefully analysed. It is

frequently assumed that where the population of a country is low and the land is vast, laws of tenure scarcely exist. Mr. Wilson shows that among the Nyakusa where land as such is plentiful, there is an economically significant difference in the quality of land and that the use of the best land (the most fertile fields for agriculture and the finest pasturage) "is carefully defined in theory and vigorously insisted upon in practice" whereas rights to the less productive areas are vague, and even when formulated are not always enforced. Once the land is developed its economic value is enhanced, and the rights of the owners are secured and protected by legal and moral sanctions.

Mr. Wilson points out that "sufficient land for all is a fundamental condition of Nyakusa society in its present form, which has no place for a landless man." Though scarcity of land is as yet more a matter of quality than of mere quantity, in some few chiefdoms there is "already threatening an actual lack of arable land (and) it is almost certain that there will in time be a general shortage." It would have been interesting to have information on the reaction of Nyakusa chiefs and commoners to this situation. It is unfortunate that we are not given any idea of the the number of cattle "which are the most prized possession" for we in the Union know that shortage of arable land, and consequent changes in the system of tenure, are largely the result of the rate of increase and the method of pasturing of the herds.

An important distinction between tenure in Nyakusa country and in our own arises from the fact "that the former is a society of small and isolated groups dominated by personal relationships," while in the latter there is an intricate system of impersonal ties which bind an individual to the State. "No African Native can own land among the Nyakusa unless he himself either works it or is a full and effective member of the Ties of kinship and friendship determine how and local community." where a Nyakusa obtains land. Each village is in origin an age group which breaks off from the parent group by whom it is assigned an area for cultivation. Each chiefdom changes its boundaries on the accession of new chiefs. With the relationships between villages and chiefdoms Mr. Wilson promises to deal in another publication though it would perhaps have made the relative importance and security of claims by ordinary individuals clearer had the principles in the wider relationships been outlined.

A characteristic of Nyakusa society, and one which indicates how tenure is dictated by social form and content, is the constant transfer of homesteads and gardens from one village to another to escape the witchcraft of neighbours. This mobility has apparently always led to

difficulties in the administration of the laws of property in land and trees, and the newly introduced coffee plants which need continuous tending create the greatest difficulty.

Throughout the paper important points are illustrated by examples and by quotations of texts. The result is that we are shown not merely the formal code but its interpretation by living men. As far as I know this is the first paper on land tenure in Africa which has dealt in such sociological detail with the rights of individuals and it gives us valuable information.

H.B.

OTTO DEMPWOLFF.

Otto Dempwolff who recently died in Hamburg at the age of sixtyseven, was one of the foremost linguists of our time. After graduating as a medical doctor in 1893 he travelled extensively as a shipdoctor, settled for a time in New Guinea and later was medical officer to the German troops in East Africa. During these visits he made a detailed study of the languages he came in contact with and in 1919, after he had for health reasons been forced to retire, he became Professor of African and South Sea languages in Hamburg. Apart from his very scientific approach to various phonetic problems, he published an account of the Sandawe click-using language, published studies on Buwe, Kulia, Kamba, Limi, Hehe, Bantu languages of East Africa, as well as a contribution to Bantu Phonology, viz. Ost-Bantu Wortstämme, and an Introduction to the speech of the Nama Hottentots (Morphology). His special field was, however, Indonesian and Austronesian languages and just before his death he completed in German a monumental work: Comparative Phonology of the Austronesian Vocabulary.

Dempwolff based his linguistic studies on the thought processes of the people whose languages he studied, instead of trying to fit these languages into some preconceived scheme (usually based on Latin structure).

He was the contemporary and colleague of the able African linguist, Prof. Meinhof, in the famous Institut für Afrikanische und Südseesprachen in Hamburg.

On behalf of all South African students who were privileged to listen to his lectures and who profited by his researches, I humbly make this "Nachruf."

P. deV. PIENAAR.

BANTU STUDIES

A JOURNAL

devoted to the Scientific Study of

BANTU, HOTTENTOT AND BUSHMAN

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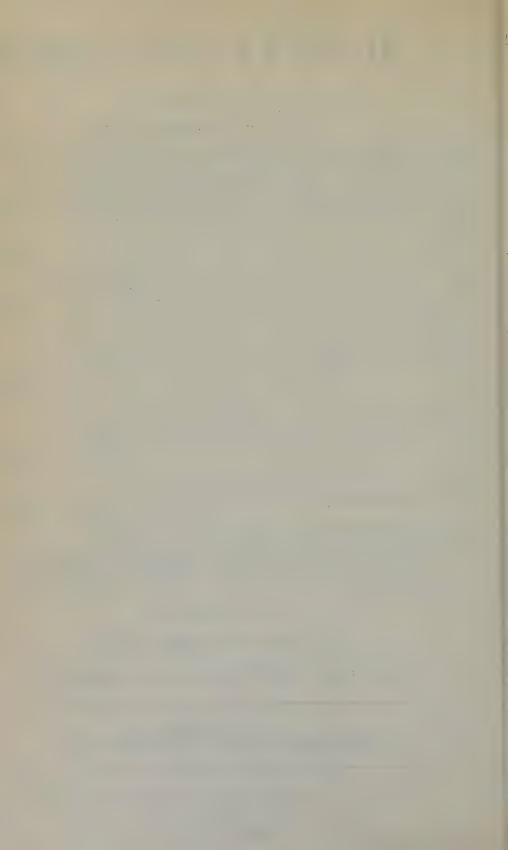
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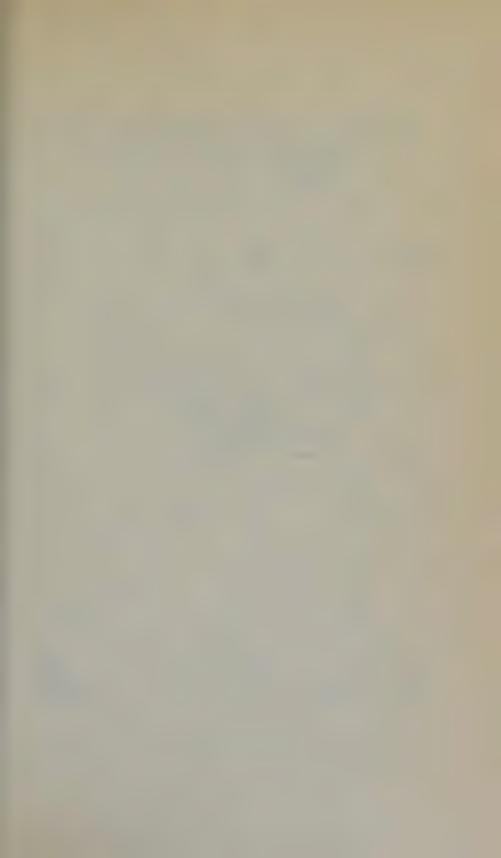
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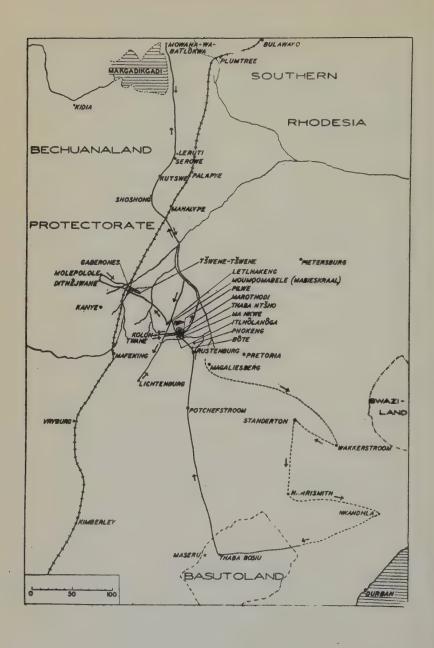
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HISTORY OF THE BATLOKWA OF GABERONES (BECHUANALAND PROTECTORATE)

By VIVIEN ELLENBERGER

(District Commissioner, Serowe, B.P.)

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MIGRATIONS OF THE BATLÔKWA OF MOSHAWENG

A.D.	TRIBE RESIDED AT OR REMOVED TO	CHIEF	INITIATED
? 1540	Magaliesburg Mountains (Thaba Mogale or " A ga Mogale.")	Tabane	
? 1570	Same as above	Khoadi	
? 1735	Wakkerstroom, Standerton, Harrismith	Motonosi	
? 1720	? Harrismith, ? Nkhandlha entered Basutoland from the south-east and later went to Tlôkwe (Potchefstroom)	Tswaane	
? 1730	Tlôkwe	Marakadu	
? 1740	Bôte (Houwater, Pilansberg, district Rustenburg) via Mogogomele Pass in the Magaliesburg Mountains	Mosima Tsele	
? 1750°	Bôte	Monaheng	
? 1760	Itlhôlanôga, west of Kgetleng (Elands) River (? Bopitiko —Doornhoek 134)	Matlhabana	
? 1770	Itlhôlanôga	Mokgwa	
1780	Mankwe (Zwaarverdiend 502) on a tributary of the Elands River. Pilwe (Maruping), a mountain on the Elands River about 7 miles from Mankwe	Taukobong	Mafatswana Mafatla Matlhakana Magata
1810	Kolontwaneng (Silverkrans or Grootfontein 301) about 30 miles west of Pilwe	Molefe	Mafiri
1815-20	Marothodi (Bultfontein 712)	Bogatsu	Matshema
1820-23	Marothodi (Bultfontein 712)	Kgosi	Maoketsa
1823-25	BaNgwato country	Leshage	

1825-35	Letlhakeng or Legageng (Putfontein 559) near Maro-	Bashe	Malomakgomo
	thodi		
1835-36	Motlhatseng	Matlapeng	Marema
1836-37	Lepalong		
1837	Thaba Ntsho, near Pilwe		
1837-39	Letlhakeng or Legageng (Putfontein 559)		
1840-53	Moumoomabele (Mabies Kraal)		Malatsi Maganelwa
1854-64	Dithejwane, B.P.		Matsaakgang Magwasa
1864-74	Molepolole, B.P.		Magoiwa Majakgomo Mapotokisi
1874-87	Tshwene Tshwene, near Vleischfontein 207, Transva	al Gaborone	Maakathata Malelakgosi Malatlhakgosi Maratakgomo
1887-193	8Moshaweng (Gaberones), B.	P.	Matsie Mankwe Makompone Masotlakgosi Maratakgomo Magata Maoketsa
		Matlala	Matsaakgang Mafitlakgosi

INTRODUCTION

In the following pages is recorded the history of the BaTlôkwa of Gaberoues as the old men of the tribe know it today, that is to say from the time of Tswaane, some 200 years ago. Oral tradition goes back no further and is consequently completely silent as regards the origin of the tribe.

I have tried to make good this deficiency by grafting what may be termed the modern history of the tribe on to the information which is to

be found in the *History of the Basuto*¹ for the very good reason that what is recorded there concerning these people was elicited from reliable sources, now no longer available to us, by my father, an expert Setšwana linguist and firm friend of old Chief Gaborone and others, from 1890 onwards.

The claim is therefore advanced that the BaTlôkwa of Gaberones are descended from Khoadi, the fourth son of Tabane, and Mathulare; that they migrated southwards from the ancestral home in the Magaliesburg Mountains, and that they hived off on their own, under Tswaane, some time before Motonosi and his BaTlôkwa (the progenitors of the Mantatees) left Standerton for Harrismith.

It seems not impossible that in their wanderings they reached a point as far south as the Nkhandhla district of Natal, for they claim to have entered Basutoland from the south-east when they were making their way back to the north. Moswaane, the oldest man in the tribe today, says that he heard the name Nkhandhla from his grandfather, but, unfortunately, he remembers nothing connected with it.

A difficulty has been encountered in trying to reconcile the statement that the journey (? undertaken because of Tshaka's campaigns) brought them into conflict with Moshesh and friendship with Sekonyela, with the genealogy of the BaTlôkwa chiefs from Tswaane onwards and the movements of the tribe during the 18th century and early 19th century, but, as the retentiveness of mind of the older Native is nowhere better illustrated than in his faultless recitation of the praise-songs of long ago and his knowledge of the order in which the tribal mephato were initiated, where they were circumcised and during whose reign each initiation took place, there is little room for hesitation in accepting the latter evidence in preference to the former, and this would mean that the tribe left Natal, or at all events Basutoland, in the early part of the 18th century, and that it was not Tshaka, Moshesh and Sekonyela themselves whom their forebears came into contact with at that time, but their predecessors and the people of their predecessors.

V. ELLENBERGER.

Serowe,
Bechuanaland Protectorate,
22nd October, 1938.

¹ History of the Basuto; Revd. D. F. Ellenberger and J. C. Macgregor, pages 40 and 308.



PRAISE SONG OF THE BATLOKWA OF MOSHAWENG

Re Mafifatswana a go rekwa ka kgomo: Mafetakgomo a je motho, Magadimana ntweng a a ja, ga a gadimana. Ba ga Mmakana-a-Mosima! Ba ga Musi! Mmolaa-moapei mo apeelwana a sale a lla. Ba ga Nkwenyana, a Nkwe o apereng?

We are a tribe that thirsts after capturing cattle:

Nkwe: "Ke apere Tau!"

For those who disdain cattle are cannibals,

There is a common purpose when proceeding to battle, but when food is placed before us we do not think of others.

We are the people of Mmakana-a-Mosima!

The people of the Smoke! the smoke that suffocates the cook so that he who is being cooked for is left a-weeping.

People of the little Leopard, what is the Leopard wearing? The Leopard: "I am dressed to resemble the Lion!"

The BaTlôkwa of Gaberones, who call themselves the children of the branch of Thete, say that during the time of Tshaka's campaigns their fathers broke away and, travelling in a north-westerly direction, reached the Maluti Mountains in Basutoland where Moshesh was Chief; here they stayed for a while, but the day came when Moshesh demanded tribute from them and, payment being refused, a fight took place in which, it is claimed, Moshesh's men were repulsed; but in a subsequent encounter the BaTlôkwa were routed and fled to Tlôkwe1 or Thete, also called Ditsôpôtla, on the Mooi River between Phokeng and Thakong, and it is from this place that they took the name of BaTlôkwe or BaTlôkwa.

While at Tlôkwe they made friends with Sekonyêla's people (Ba-ga-Ledingwana) and in their praise-songs they refer to themselves as "Madingwana2 helele a ga MmaTsela."

¹ Potchefstroom.
² Plural form of Ledingwana.

Their chief at this period was Tswaane, and it was during his time that the MmaTshakga, the age-group of the chief's cousin, broke away. These young men were dancing daily with the village maidens on the outskirts of their town and then, one evening, they did not return. Their song was the Mmudungwana and to this day they are known as the BaTlôkwa of Mmudungwana: they are the senior branch of the tribe and live some four miles from Zoekmakaar in the Transvaal.

Tswaane died at Tlôkwe and was succeeded by Marakadu of whom nothing is known, and when he died he was succeeded by his son Mosima Tsele who led the BaTlôkwa through the Magaliesburg Mountains to Bôte,² near Phokeng.³ Here Mosima died and was succeeded by Monaheng, of whom, also, nothing is known. Monaheng was succeeded by Matlhabane.

'The BaTlôkwa formerly venerated the leopard. They are said to have adopted the leopard as their emblem after one of these animals which had carried off a mother goat during the night, had been followed up and killed. Although no details are available, one can picture the leopard shewing fight when finally cornered and that great heroism was displayed by its slayer. In their rejoicings, the tribe would attribute to him, and through him to their chief and to themselves qualities of greater cunning and ferocity than even the leopard is possessed of. Just when, and under what circumstances the leopard was displaced by the ant-bear is not known, but it is suggested that the substitution took place when Marakadu, Tswaane's son and heir, was born.

While Matlhabane was chief a dispute arose between the BaTlôkwa and the BaFokeng (or BaPhokeng) of Patsa. Matlhabane sent as spyto listen to the talk of the BaFokeng-a man who pretended to be deaf and dumb, and one day he brought tidings that the BaFokeng were planning to attack the BaTlôkwa who thereupon crossed the Kgetleng* and settled on its western bank at Itlhôlanôga. Matlhabane died at Itlhôlanôga and was succeeded by Mokgwa-a-Matlhabane who also died there and was succeeded by Taukobong.

Taukobong is said to have lived at Mankwe on a tributary of the Elands River, on the Rustenburg side of the Pilansberg Mountain where some of Lentswe's BaKgatla live now.

A ga Mogale (they travelled through the Pass called Mogogomele.)
Houwater, Pilansberg, district Rustenburg.
Close to Rustenburg, Transvaal.

Thakadu = ant-bear; plural Dithakadu: collective plural Marakadu. Elands River.

PRAISE SONG OF TAUKOBONG-A-MOKGWA-A MATLHABANE

Mapupu, Thakadu lesepela nosi. O o bonyeng e notoula Robeng emang? Yare ke ya dira ke eo go ralla BaSiga. Kobo e dinta, mogatsa Nwakwana! Yare go adingwa mogwe e lale mmaba! Lekuba molapong: Tšhweu! namane va Radii a!

Taukobong the Ant-bear takes the road alone, Who saw him kill Robeng ?1 When I go out to war I pass near the BaSiga.2 The blanket has lice in it, husband of Nwakwana!³ When it is lent to a son-in-law he sleeps uncomfortably! He fights in the river; Taukobong! son of Mokgwa-a-Matlhabane!

Calamity overtook the tribe at Mankwe: the gardens were on the far side of the river which one day came down in flood, cutting off the women who were at work in the fields, with the result that all the children starved to death. With sore hearts the tribe moved to Pilwe, 4 a mountain about even miles from Mankwe.

Taukobong had four sons-Makaba by his principal wife, and Molefe, Thêkiso and Mokgatle by junior wives. A woman named Nkae had been obtained from the BaHurutse as wife for Makaba but he died before he married her, and Molefe lived with her, according to custom, to raise seed to the deceased Makaba: the sons of this union were Bogatsu, Phiri and Semêla.

Taukobong died at a very great age and Molefe ruled pending the coming-of-age of Bogatsu.

One day, Phiri suggested to Bogatsu that it was time he took over the chieftainship, but Bogatsu refused, saying he would rule after Molefe's death. Phiri then decided that Molefe should be put to death and one day when the men were called out to hunt impalla buck he ordered one of them to follow Molefe. When this man tried to assassinate the chief he only managed to stab him in the arm: a hue and cry was raised and the hunt broke up, the men all returning home. Molefe then shewed Bogatsu his wound, saying "See what Phiri has done to me." On the pretext that some of the cattle had been stolen, Phiri's mophato⁵ was

<sup>Taukobong.
Zwaarverdiend, 502, district Rustenburg.
Age-group or unit formed at the time of initiation.</sup>

ordered to follow them up and recover them, and as soon as Phiri had gone Molefe left for Kolontwaneng¹ at the head of his mophato (the Mafatla) with those of the BaTlôkwa who were on his side, including the divisions of Mokgwa and MmaMokane. A message was sent to Phiri that Molefe had defected "with the village," whereupon he returned post-haste and pursued Molefe with the intention of fighting him; he caught up to Molefe near Moreteletse Hill and in the fight which took place there Phiri was defeated. Molefe did not go back to Mankwe but settled at Kolontwane while Phiri went to Pilwe.

Bogatsu now took over the chieftainship and lived at Marothodi, a big treeless flat about a mile from Pilwe. His wife, Tsemane, bearing him no children, was conducted to Moseletsana, chief of the BaFokeng, and as time passed and she did not return, Bogatsu began to suspect that Moseletsana was keeping her as a hostage. He demanded her return, saying to Moseletsana: "Did I pay you dowry? for her?"; "Did I give her to you?" The tone of these messages aroused Moseletsana's anger and the BaFokeng made preparations for a punitive expedition against the BaTlôkwa. Moseletsana sent this message to Bogatsu: "Go on praying for rain—when the corn is ripe I will come and destroy it," to which Bogatsu replied: "When you come, do not go round to the back of Pilwe but come direct."4 Cattle were now slaughtered in the BaFokeng village and while the meat was still in the pots, Moseletsana set out. The women were left at home and he approached the BaTlôkwa from behind Pilwe. The BaTlôkwa heard that he was advancing towards the Mampôtô side of the village and there issue was joined; many were killed and when Moseletsana fell the BaFokeng retreated to Phokeng.

PRAISE-SONG OF BOGATSU

Namolelang! di makôrô di a lwa,
Pôô e ntšho e lwa le e khunou
Fa motlhabeng wa saka la Badimo.
E tlhabile ya ga Boreyana philô!
Erile ke go bolêlêla, wa nyatsa—
Ke go reile ka re Pilwe ga pôtwe,
Go pôta Pilwe ke gona go latlhêga.
Kana Tsemane wa ga Moruiwane ga tšhwarwe.

¹ Grootfontein, 301 (Map 51) Transvaal. Molefe was the founder of the Motsatsie section of the BaTlokwa people.

² Sehuba.

³ O dikwe o rapetse pula-etlare mabele a lema tsweu ke tla go a senya.

Etlare fa o tla, o se ka wa pôta Pilwe ka kwa morago, o o pôte ka kwa pele.

Help! the cattle with crooked horns fight,

The black bull1 fights the red one2 on the sand-ridge where the kraal of the Badimo³ cattle is situated.

It has poked that of Borevana4 in the kidney!

You derided me when I told you-

When I told you that one does not go round Pilwe,5 that to go round Pilwe is to court trouble.

Tsemane⁶ the daughter of Moruiwane⁷ is not held captive with impunity.

Bogatsu had meanwhile taken unto himself another wife, namely Ma-Dipyêga, from whom the present Dipyêga Kgôrô has sprung, and he went further and took a young girl named Nti whom he intended to place in his first house in order that she might be senior to Ma-Dipyêga, but it is said that Nti objected to this as she desired to have her own house rather than be under surveillance. Not being able to have his own way, Bogatsu made her build her own hut and instead of giving her cattle from the royal house she was given cattle of uncertain origin (captured in raids or else found straying).

Bogatsu died and was buried at Marothodi. He left five sons, viz.: Kgosi, Mabotowe (Rakola), Mfolowe, Nywe and Segokgo: the senior of them, Kgosi, succeeded to the chieftainship but did not reign long. He is said to have led the BaTlôkwa in attacks on Makgongwana, chief of the BaFokeng, and the BaMatlhaku (Taposa's people) to recover possession of cattle. It is said that during his reign the tribe was driven from its kraals by the BaMatau, to the farm Bultfontein, 712(?). Then Makaba, chief of the BaNgwaketse sent to Kgosi for help against Motswasele, chief of the BaKwena, but when they attacked the BaKwena his people deserted him because of his unpopularity; they said "Let the dogs help him in his fight because he feeds only his dogs and neglects us." The BaKwena won the fight and Kgosi was killed. It is generally believed that Kgosi was killed at Tswêtê, a long, lonely hill near the Manokwe River, between Gaberones and Molepolole, but some of the BaTlôkwa maintain that the fight took place at Madiabatho-that Kgosi ran round the north side of the Kopong hills and came in at Boshwêla-Kgosi⁸ and

¹ Bogatsu (who carried a black shield) and

^{*} Moseletsana (who carried a red one).

^{*} Name of cattle-post.

⁴ It has poked Moseletsana the son of Boreyana.
⁵ A hill on the farm Zwaarverdiend, 502, district Rustenburg, Transvaal.

⁶ Bogatsu's wife.

Litt. "the place where Kgosi died"; (in 1823).

that it was there that he was killed. At this moment Mabotowe was in the BaNgwaketse country—some say he was leading his *mophato* in a raid on BaNgwaketse cattle, others say that he had gone to Segheng to look for strayed cattle, but all agree that he returned with many cattle.

PRAISE-SONG OF KGOSI-A-BOGATSU

Kgosi a gola a BaTlókwa, A gola a tswa ka ditlhare, Kubatshi! A ba gola a tswa ka mophato wa gagwe.

Kgosi of the BaTlôkwa grew up, He grew up to be taller than the trees, Kubatshi !¹ He grew up to be the tallest man in his age-group.

Kgosi's male children in the order of their birth were, Leshage, Bashe and Tutwane by minor wives, and Matlapeng, his heir. After Kgosi's death there was the inevitable dispute as to who should act as chief for young Matlapeng; some of the people wanted Mabotowe while others wanted Leshage. In the end Leshage took the chair and his next act was to put his uncle, Mabotowe, to death. At this time the BaMatlhaku (BaKwena-ba-Modimosana) raided the BaTlôkwa cattle, saying there were no BaTlôkwa men left—only boys—but Leshage collected his mophato (the Matshema), drove off the attackers and re-took the cattle which had temporarily fallen into their hands.

PRAISE-SONG OF LESHAGE-A-KGOSI

Moneneketsi a marole,
Mmaditletseng a ga Kgosi,
Ntsha tlholwa di pagame Nkogole,
Di be di pagame maje a Letlhaka,
Di pagame Ratumuga di boe.
Ga go kgomo dipe di nnang fela,
Ba ga Morare ba ntse ba di tlhôla,
Ba ntse ba di gololetsa melala.
Batho ba tserwe ke ga di a tswalêlwa,
Ke dikgomo ga di na motho motlhêtlhi,
Motlhetlhi a maja dihuba a kgosi.

¹ Another name for Kgosi.

Watchful shepherd of the calves,

Leshage, son of Kgosi,

Who sent spies to climb Nkogole¹ and the hills of Letlhakeng.

Who return after climbing Ratumuga.2

Cattle which have no owner do not exist,

Morare's people are still searching for them,

They are still craning their necks looking for them.

Morare's people were caught out because they thought the cattle were not herded and had no one fleet of foot with them.

O Fleet-footed one,4 Eater of the Chief's portion.5

In spite of this, Leshage was a bad chief who oppressed his people and whose mode of punishment, like that of the Matebele, was death.

In 1823 the name of Sebetuane was first heard in the land. At the time of the invasions in 1822 his name was known only to the BaFokeng of his ancestor Patsa and their neighbours; for it was only a few months later, in the midst of the confusion of the tribes, that Sebetuane appeared and, with his relatives, initiated the idea of migrating northward, from which direction their ancestors had come a few centuries before. He was of the great branch of the BaFokeng, called that of Mare, being descended from Mangole the third son of Mare. The eldest son of the chief Mangoane was killed by lions, and his brother Sebetuane succeeded to the chieftainship. His first act was to assemble all the BaFokeng beyond the Vaal River and, pointing out to them the danger they incurred in remaining in a country beset by foes and ruined by wars, reminding them too of the losses they had already suffered, suggested that they should migrate and seek a new home in the north. His suggestion was accepted by the people, and he lost no time in putting it into effect. He was joined by two other chiefs, Lekapetsa and Ramabusetsa, who with their people came under his rule. They left the vicinity of the Vaal at the beginning of 1823, making their way towards Lithakong but shortly after their arrival they were overtaken by their old enemies the BaTlôkwa (Mantatees)6 who were also roaming about the country, carrying death and destruction with them wherever they went. The town of Lithakong was burned by the BaTlôkwa, who, unable to go farther on account of Sebetuane on the one side and Waterboer with his mounted Griquas and

A hill on the farm Naauwpoort on the Mochudi-Saulspoort road, district Rustenburg.

^{*} The BaMatlhaku?

The breast of all animals killed in the chase or on festive occasions.

Not to be confused with the Batlôkwa of Gaberones.

two thousand BaTlhaping on the other, returned and proceeded to attack Moshesh at Butha-Buthe. Sebetuane, however, immediately took his departure for the north, and, to his great satisfaction, was joined by a number of deserters from the BaTlôkwa. Leaving Lithakong in June, 1823, Sebetuane forced his way through the BaRolong country, after a battle at Khunwana. Farther on he encountered the BaNgwaketsi of Makaba whom he defeated in a great battle. A few days later he had to fight another battle with Diutluileng, chief of the BaHurutse, who, at Mosega, disputed his passage along the left bank of the Marico River. Having defeated Diutluileng he soon afterwards encountered and routed the BaKgatla at the junction of the Api (Ntsabotlhoko) and Limpopo Rivers. He also attacked the BaTlôkwa under Leshage and drove them north into the country of the BaNgwato who were then living at Kutswe under Khama the son of Kgari. The BaTlôkwa settled at Leruti, five miles north of Serowe, but, on hearing that Sebetuane was on their trail they decided to go still further north and in doing so they took some of the BaNgwato cattle. Selume, Khama's brother, and Motswaisi were at this time living in the eastern portion of the Ngwato country but Khama raised the alarm, the BaNgwato collected their forces and set off in pursuit of the BaTlôkwa whom they found at Shoa where a fight took place near a Baobab tree (known to this day as Mowana wa BaTlôkwa.) Kopukopu and Tubaamashina of the BaTlôkwa were killed (the first-named by Kgomongwe) and the BaNgwato not only recaptured their stolen cattle but seized all those of the BaTlôkwa.

Sebetuane, pursuing his way northwards, passed to the east of the Marutlwe Hills, near Shoshong, and from there went to Bonwanotsi Hills where he rested his people for a time before crossing the Mahalapye River. Instead of carrying out his intention of attacking the BaTlôkwa. he attacked Khama at Kutswe, burnt his village and drove him and his people before him as far as Olodiphephe, north of the Botletle River. He offered the BaTlôkwa terms of peace, which they accepted, agreeing to go north with him. He, in turn, restored to them their cattle which the BaNgwato had taken, but Bashe and many of the BaTlôkwa were dissatisfied as they considered that young Matlapeng had not received a fair share and this led to Bashe secretly taking Matlapeng and his mother back to the south, leaving Leshage and his followers with Sebetuane who then proceeded to Motlhomaganyana, thence through the Banajwa (Makalaka and Mashapatlane) settlements to the Botletle River which they crossed near Rakops (Tsienyana). He stayed for a time at Kidia, proceeding thence along the right bank of the Botletle, crossing it at Sebetuane's Ford and marching on along the Komana River as far as Lake Ngami.

and along the southern shore of that Lake. At Motlhaba-wa-namanyana he fought and defeated the BaTawana under Moremi. He then went down to the Ghanzi District but changed his plans, returned to Lake Ngami, travelled northward along the Okavango River, then eastward until he eventually reached the Zambesi River where he died in 1851. Sometime between this date and the year 1864 two emigrations of Makololo, as Sebetuane's people were called, to Ngamiland took place; the one under Mokgari and the other under Lebuse, and our interest attaches to the latter because he was accompanied by Leshage and some of our BaTlôkwa. In 1906 Dithapo, who was acting as chief of the BaTawana, whose hair was then already grey and who was a son of Meno—himself a brother of the late chief Letšholathêbê—gave the following account of the arrival and massacre of Leshage and his BaTlôkwa:

"Having entered our territory Lebuse had, in accordance with Native custom, sent messengers to our chief, Letšholathêbê, to apprise him of the fact and to ask him where he and his followers might settle down. Letšholathêbê's reply had been: 'Stay where you are-I will come and see you and discuss the matter with you.' Letšholathêbê had then set out with some of his warriors and when in the neighbourhood of Lebuse's camp had sent word to the latter to come to him with his followers so that his request might be gone into. Lebuse had complied and he and his men had sat down for the interview, Letšholathêbê's warriors more or less encircling them, in such a way, however, as not to excite suspicion. When, in the course of discussion, Letšholathêbê uttered the words ' Dipôô ga di tlhakanêlê losaka' (bulls do not share a kraal, i.e. there cannot be two chiefs to one territory)—which was the signal agreed upon between Letšholathêbê and his warriors-the latter fell upon the unfortunate immigrants; some of these, among them Lebuse, tried to break through the ring; a shout of 'there goes Lebuse!' rent the air; 'and I' said Dithapo, 'being swift of foot-ah! I could run in those days !-- set out after him, overtook him and felled him with my knobkerrie!' The chief Letšholathêbê who, meanwhile, had mounted his horse, dashed up to us and gave Lebuse a blow with a sjambok made of rhinoceros hide and almost at the same time arrived Mokenane: Lebuse was then still wriggling and Mokenane finished him off!' Thus, according to Dithapo, ended Lebuse and his Makololo and Leshage and his BaTlôkwa. Their cattle, women and children were collected and driven to the BaTawana capital which was entered to the tune of the koma (song of praise) appended hereto, composed by a regiment of young men, by order of Letšholathêbê who, to mark his 'victory,' had exclaimed: 'A go ntsiwe koma!' (let there be a song of praise)."

Tšwaua ka bomo, keomo ya Matima! Modimo wa kromo o tsošwa ke mang? O tsošwa ke wena, Tau ya Matima! Ha e a tsala hê, kyomo ya Matima? Erile go tsala ya fhetola dipito! Bagami ba yona : e gangwa ke mang? E gangwa ke Tatuê le Sebopeng! Ke bale ba sokolohile, BaNajwe! Maseke o hulere le Selemele! Ntšho e bona phatšwa ya boifa, Re raya re lo phetsola, Matebele! Ya ga Patsa e tlhaga ka makgaolo! Kgosi ya ga Patsa: bošwa bo phateng! Ramashudu o rile "ke ntsa motse"! Motse o setse le mong, Moobati; O setse le wena, Tau ya Matima!

Be marked as desired, O cow of the Matima!¹
Who dares strike terror into the god of the cattle?
Only you, O lion of the Matima,² darest do so!
Have they not increased now, the cattle of the Matima?
Yes! and to give birth to that increase, we turned the tables on the invaders!

Which of ye milkers do milk them?

They who milk them are Tatue and Sebopeng!³

Behold the BaNajwa!⁴ They have returned!

Maseke and with him Selemele!⁵

At sight of the black and white bull,⁶ the black bull⁷ was terrified!

This, Makololo,⁸ at the time we split open your skulls!

Chief from Patsa descended!,⁹ on your forehead is the swelling!

To expel us from our town was Ramashudu's¹⁰ avowed intent!

But with its owner the town remained, O Moobati!¹¹

In your keeping it remained, O Lion of the Matima!

Meanwhile Bashe, with Matlapeng and all the BaTlôkwa who did not accompany Leshage, had reached Letlhakeng (Putfontein No. 559,

¹ The Makololo are said to have had a habit of shaping the horns of some of their cattle according to their fancy; this was generally done when the cattle were still quite young, the outer or hard portion of the horn was thinned down with the sharp blade of an assegai until the mosetse or pith of the horn was reached and sometimes cut into; the horns were then bent and, on occasion, tied together so that in time they would acquire the desired shape and resemble the horns of some of the larger antelopes or cross each other in the shape of an "X"; if thinned on the outer curve, the points of the horn would grow towards each other and sometimes cross each other; this was go kgabisa (to adorn): e ne e kgabisiwa (it was being adorned).

district Rustenburg) near Marothodi12 and here Bashe acted as chief until he was killed by Moselekatse's Matebele in 1835.

Matlapeng now assumed the chieftainship and removed his village to Mothatseng which is not far from the place where Bashe was killed.

Gaborone, Matlapeng's son, was born at Letlhakeng and was now about ten years of age.

Fearing further trouble from the Matebele, Matlapeng took the BaTlôkwa south to Lepalong (? Lichtenburg). The Boers were at this time trekking into the Transvaal from the south and the Matebele sent spies to Mooi River to see what they were doing. The Matebele attacked

² The Matima were Letšholathêbê's own regiment, composed of all the boys of the tribe who had under-gone circumcision at the same time as himself; after the *Matima* regiment came the *Mankwe*, of the same age, stated Dithapo, as the *Maholosa* (age-group of Chief Khama—formed in 1852) of the BaNgwato. It will be observed from the song that the ownership of the immigrants' cattle is now vested in the commandant of the Matima, viz. Letšholathêbê.

³ Tatue was the father of a man named Phuti and Sebopeng was the father of one Kgosiekae. Both Tatue and Sebopeng were "royal milkers," i.e. had been appointed, before the massacre of Lebuse and Leshage, to milk certain cattle for the Chief Letšholathêbê and were now to milk for him the cattle captured from these immigrants.

N.B. The cows which Tatue and Sebopeng originally milked for the Chief were the offspring of some cattle which certain Makgalagadi had taken possession of when Sebetuane had crushed the BaTawana on the Linyanti river: Mogalakwe (an uncle of Letšholathêbê)-who had been taken prisoner by Sebetwane and had subsequently escaped—had recovered these cattle from the Makgalagadi and handed them over to Letšholathêbê when the latter had succeeded to the chieftainship of the BaTawana.

⁴ The Banajwa were Makoba inhabiting the region of the Mababe Flats, Ngamiland.

⁵ Masake was a Monajwa of Dikgothi; Selemele was also a Monajwa. Both were Chiefs of Makoba and had been taken prisoners by Sekeletu when he had fought against Letsholathêbê: they returned with Lebuse and Leshage. By the "black and white bull" must be understood Letšholathêbê, whose complexion was on the light side.

7 The "black bull" referred to was Lebuse whose skin was very dark.

⁸ The word Matebele must be read as Makololo.

Patsa was an ancestor of Sebetuane and therefore of Lebuse whose paternal grandfather was Matsela, a brother of Sebetuane.

¹⁰ Ramashudu: a paternal uncle of Lebuse: was killed at the same time as Lebuse. He had a big swelling on his forehead and the reference to it must be taken

as being of a derisive nature.

11 Moobati (Mobatli, also Mmatli): one who seeks or looks for. This refers to Letšholathêbê, who had looked for and found for his village a site which

met with general approval.

18 Marothodi = Bultfontein No. 712, dist. Rustenburg.

The Author is indebted to his father, Colonel Jules Ellenberger, C.M.G., I.S.O., for this account of the circumstances which attended the massacre of Leshage, and for the koma and its translation now published for the first time.

them and were repulsed with heavy losses, and a year later (in 1837) the Boers broke the power of Moselekatse at Mosega and drove him northwards. It is said that the Boers drove the Matebele along a V-shaped game trap and that they perished in great numbers.

Fearing for their safety in the midst of all these disturbances, the BaTlôkwa betook themselves towards Thaba Ntsho and there, while boar hunting discovered, through a boar and dogs falling into it, a deep hole communicating with a vast cave with water in it. The BaTlôkwa are said to have found the Boo-rra-Mamakgotla (? Boo-rra-Mokhele, the fourth branch of the Bataung) living in this cave. When the Boers returned with the cattle captured from the Matebele, after the defeat of Moselekatse at Mosega, they sent for the Boo-rra-Mamakgotla who, however, only sent their men out, the women and children remaining in the caves; the BaTlôkwa took their women and children with them. "The Boers," said Chief Gaborone, "gave us three head of cattle and took us away-men, women and children-and placed us in a kraal for the whole of a very hot day. They then helped themselves to our children and only the old people who were left and for whom they had no use found their way back to Letlhakeng. Then came Hendrik Potgieter, Boer leader, who asked my father, Matlapeng, to look after his cattle, but soon after Potgieter took them back as the Boers had now decided to settle down in the Transvaal.

From Letlhakeng the BaTlôkwa went to Moumoomabele on the banks of the little river Mmudungwane or Mhudungwane near Moreteletse Hill (Maabies Kraal), but they left this place fearing that the Boers would kill Matlapeng because he had shot a man who had tried to interfere with his wife; Matlapeng was warned by a Boer friendly towards him and the tribe removed to Dithêiwane where Sechele and the BaKwena people welcomed them. Dr. Livingstone passed them here on his way to the Zambesi. Later, the BaTlôkwa accompanied the BaKwena to Molepolole, a distance of some eight miles from Dithêiwane. There is still to be seen at the site of their settlement a large tree known as "Matlapeng's tree " (Mogôtlhô wa ga Matlapeng). During their stay at Molepolole the BaTlôkwa assisted the BaKwena in a fight against the BaNgwato but later, when Sechele again attacked the BaNgwato the BaTlôkwa stayed behind and were accused of cowardice by Sebele, the eldest son of Sechele. This led to ill-feeling and collisions between the young men on both sides at the cattle-posts, and, although Sechele retained his affection for Matlapeng throughout, Matlapeng decided to leave the BaKwena in order to avert bloodshed. In seeking formal permission from Sechele to leave, Matlapeng presented him with a white ox.

The BaTlôkwa now removed to Tšhwene Tšhwene near Vleischfontein, Transvaal, and it was while they were there that the BaKgatla were attacked by the BaKwena.¹ The BaTlôkwa went to the assistance of the BaKgatla; to reach Borakalalo² they marched through the pass in the hills known as Phata-ya-Boyantswi which is south of the ruins of the BaTlhako, south-west of Semarule; they lost five men killed in action and during the last engagement the BaKgatla ran way, leaving their chief Lentswe behind. It was Chief Gaborone who went back for Lentswe and hid him amongst the BaTlôkwa. At the end of the BaKwena-BaKgatla war Sechele abandoned a portion of his country to the Boers and said that as the BaTlôkwa had fought against him they were no longer his people and therefore had no claim on him or to his land. He defined the eastern boundary of his country as running from Sepitsi, on the Notwani River, to Tshukudutšhôtšhwe, thence to the small hills known as Ramonnye's, as far as the Marico River at Mothopong.

Five years after their arrival at Tšhwene Tšhwene, Matlapeng died, and his son Gaborone succeeded to the chieftainship.

PRAISE-SONG OF MATLAPENG-A-KGOSI.

Ke Thulari ya BaTlôkwa,

A ko u tlhule lekalakata.

Ere pholo di gafele sehubeng, tshwana di fikitse mabele di tloge.

Batho ba kile ba fora Letebele, ba fora RaMangwane, ba mo nnetse ba re "Morena go re fe re tla tlhabana," ke ba aperetse phetsheng le dikobo.

Kgomo erile di tshaba di kibitla, tsoo Makatele le Moselekatse di ntse di iphatakela, di tlhole di ikgasa mebu le mo dihubeng.

Yare ngwana wa motho ka tšwela kobo, kobo ka sala ke apere ya thwane, ke apere ya thwane, RaMoswana wa ga Moneneketsi.

Ke bodiba botala ngwana wa ga Kgosi, bo botala ngwana wa ga Itumeleng wa ga Kuate.

Motho a ka tšwa mo teng a ka nona a ka tla a gapa tšhwana e mogala, bo RaMosela ba e tsaya nphetlo, bo Npedi ba gopêla magopêlô.

Bodile a Tšhwaane, go robala ga a robala, o bobile.

Mokgale o laditse namane e sale nnye,

O rile a tsoga, a fesola motho, a mo tsêêlwa ke Diretlwe.

¹ This was in 1874.

The lower part of Molepolole as distinguished from "the hill" (Ntsweng). Crocodile Pools, now called Notwani Siding.

Tshudu ya lekoko la Diphakana!

Tshaba di ka be di sa itsemeletse, di ka be di bokêla seêpa kgwêlê, seêpa kutle sa marumo a ntwa, le ba ba kwa Borwa ba ka mmôkêla.

Tau e jetswe ke diphiri sehuba, e jetswe lesie mpa ya nare.

Morena ga mokhutšwane, morwa Kgosi,

Morena go gola a tlotlomêla Kgosi e sale gabile sehuba ebile ekete sa thutlwa ya legôtlhô, ekete sa MmaMamesi, morwa Kgosi.

Mogogomele, Ramesi ya dipane ke Ramesi ya ditlhobolo, Motšhwana!

I am Matlapeng of the BaTlôkwa,

While the oxen were pawing the ground, the black cows shook their udders as they moved away.

The people deceived Moselekatse, they deceived him, saying "Master if you do not feed us, we will fight"; that was when they carried their spears under their blankets.

When the cattle took fright they went off at a trot, leaving those of Makatele¹ and Moselekatse pawing the earth and throwing sand over their chests.

I, the son of my father, put my blanket aside and remained clad only in the skin of a lynx, in the skin of a lynx, RaMoswana² of the family of Leshage the Careful One.

I am as a fearsome abyss, I, the son of Kgosi, I, the son of Itumeleng daughter of Kuate.³

He who escapes me may prosper, he might even come and take the black pack-cow; Ramosela⁴ and his companions might take it by stealth—Npedi⁵ and his friends might have the skinner's share of the meat.

The Rhinoceros, 6 descendant of Tshwaane, 7 does not sleep although he pretends to;

Mokgale⁸ left his calf⁹ while it was small, but when it grew up it knocked down a man who was snatched away from him by Diretlwe.¹⁰

Rhinoceros of the Diphakana!11

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Matlapeng.

Matlapeng.

Matlapeng.

Matlapeng.

Matlapeng.

Matlapeng.

Matlapeng.
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¹¹ Or Malomakgomo, of which Matlapeng was the head.

Had the tribes not been indolent they might have praised the Finder of Riems,1 the Finder of Hidden Spears,2 and those in the south might have praised him too.

The lion's share was eaten by hyenas, the buffalo's paunch was eaten by the (?)

The Chief is not a weakling, the son of Kgosi,

He has grown up a true chief in every way, he is supreme and the head of his people, like the giraffe of the camel-thorn grove.

Great Warrior, mighty in battle, Mightiest of Spearmen. Motshwana I

CHIEF GARORONE-A-MATLAPENG

The Chief was born at Letlhakeng (Putfontein No. 559) near Marothodi, in the Transvaal. His name, "Gaborone," is derived from the verb "go rona," i.e. "to fit badly," and, preceded as it is by the negative "ga," it means, translated into English, "it does not fit badly "or "it is not unbecoming "-evidently a reference to the chieftainship which was to devolve upon him at his father's death.

In his early years, as we have seen, the BaTlôkwa were involved in many fights and were continually on the move from one place to another. On one of the occasions that he distinguished himself the tribe praised him in the following words:-

Mokgalo o o botlhoko,

More o mitlwa wa bo RaMpheleng.

Erile tsoo Tshweu di gapilwe a tla a tlola ka pitse moraladi;

A bitsa Ramonnve le Sedumedi.

Ratho ha ntwa ke dibônô.

Re êmê fa morago re boe re inamole,

Ba tsile ba e shashaoka BaKaa,

BaKaa ba ga Mosoku-o-thata.

The Mokgalo³ whose berries are bitter,

The thorny tree to which also belongs RaMpheleng,4

When Tshweu's cattle were looted, Gaborone sprang on his horse and dashed off;

He called Ramonnye and Sedumedi,6

¹ Matlapeng.

<sup>Matlapeng.
A species of thorn tree.
Sedumedi, Gaborone's younger brother.</sup>

⁵ Taukobong, ancestor of Gaborone.

Ramonnye and Sedumedi younger brothers of Gaborone.

The leaders of the fight are its spies.

We stood at a distance, we returned and then charged.

The BaKaa came along trembling,

The BaKaa, the people of Mosoku-o-thata.1

About the year 1880 the BaTlôkwa were summoned to Zeerust by the Transvaal Government in connection with complaints that Europeans were taking their cattle from them. Gaborone represented Matlapeng and the BaTlôkwa at this enquiry, and on his return this praise was composed and sung in his honour:—

Tau e tšwa Sefatlhane e tlhêtlha,

E beile nkwe motlhololo,

Ga ise e tsênê dipe tsa kgosi;

Ntlhang e tsena Matlhakana, e tsena Motsitsi, e tla bolawa.

E tla yewa ke Tswaana-e-mokubô,

E jewa ke kgomo e kgana marumo.

Phobotlêla a motse!

Ntse ke utlwa a bitsa bo monnawe,

A re " pitse tseo lo di tswareng."

A bitsa Ramonnye le monnawe,

Di a be di rata go tsosa sefhefho,

Tsa tlhôla phefo ya loshu dikhunou.

Phefo ya gatsêtsa Boleyagane,

Mfhefhele a sala a bobaletse,

Tlhase tsa fhisa Rasebitla ditšwênyêtsô.

Monna o kwa ga Suwe, a lebeloana,

Ba boleletse RaSegotso leleme,

Ba re " Pôô e kwa go o Tšêtlha, ya tlhaba."

Ba le maka, ba se ka ba e losa;

Ba fhitile ba shashaoka, BaKaa.

The lion² returned from Sefatlhane³ at a gallop, wearing a leopard's skin on its back,

It has not yet entered any of the chief's cattle-posts;

The day it enters the Matlhakana or the Motsitsi cattle-posts,4 it will be killed.

It will be "eaten" by the Tswaana-e-mokuba cattle.

It will be "eaten" by the cattle resisting those who come to seize them.

^{, 5}

⁸ Gaborone.

³ Zeerust.

⁴ and 5 Gaborone's cattle-posts.

Spirit of the Village !1

I hear him calling and again calling his younger brothers and saying to them "Hold those horses (you will need them against the BaKwena)."2

He called Ramonnye and his younger brother Sedumedi.

The horses were straining at their bits—the red horses were asking for death.

The wind froze Boleyagane,4

Mfhefhele⁵ concealed himself by crouching low,

RaSebitla's hindquarters were chapped by it.

The man7 is at Suwe's8

They told RaSegotso9 saying "The bull10 is at Tsetlha's11 and it pokes."

Being liars, they did not destroy it;

They fled in fear and trembling, the BaKaa.

Four years after Matlapeng's death, the BaTlôkwa split up into four sections: Ramonnye went to the BaKgatla, Sedumedi to Letlhakeng, in the Transvaal, Sebolao remained at Tšhwene Tšhwene but later on moved to "ga Molatedi," near Montsana, and Gaborone returned to Sechele's country, settling at Moshaweng, which was called Gaborone's or Gaberones after him. Gaborone went to Molepolole to tell the chief of the BaKwena of his return and on this occasion presented him with a bag of money but the men who accompanied him did not know how much there was because the bag was closed when it was handed over. Sechele expressed his thanks by giving the BaTlôkwa this piece of ground as their own, and on their departure he received a further sum of £130 in cash and some cattle.

In 1895, Sechele's successor surrendered to the Imperial Government, in connection with the construction of the railway line to the north. the eastern portion of his territory, the eastern boundary of which was re-defined as running in a straight line from Wildebeest Kop to the

¹ Gaborone.

This was at the time of the BaKwena-BaKgatla war and the BaTlôkwa were going to the assistance of their ba tlogolo the BaKgatla. Matlapeng was still

Ramonnye and Sedumedi, Gaborone's younger brothers.

⁸ Suwe, chief of the BaKaa.

Mosinvi, son of Suwe and father of Segotso.

¹⁰ Gaborone.

¹¹ Mankwenyana Spruit which runs through Bokaa above and lower down joins the Mokgopêêtsana.

¹² Naauwpoort, No. 160. One day's journey on foot from Gaberones, beyond Dibasechobe or Vleischfontein.

Notwani River at Crocodile Pools, leaving Tshukudutšhôtšhwe in the Transvaal: the area surrendered included the land on which Gaborone and his people had settled in 1887 and, in 1906, when Lord Selborne, then High Commissioner for South Africa, received the Chiefs of the Southern Protectorate at Crocodile Pools (now Notwani Siding) and invited them to lay before him any complaints or grievances they might have, Gaborone enlisted the sympathy of all men when, after welcoming His Majesty's representative, he said in a sad voice but with his usual fine smile:—"Your Excellency, I have no land and therefore no complaint," and thereupon resumed his seat.

GABORONE. (Praised by Kgamane, of the Maakathata agegroup, son of Mogapi, after the Rinderpest—1896).

Tlhabaki a BaTlôkwa! Marumo a tletse Mafatla, Morena, Go tletse dithipa, go tletse katlholô. Batho ba kile ba betla lentswe pila, Ba le betla e le mothab wa motse, E le mothaô wa motse ka kwa Tlôkweng. Kwa ditsebeng ke Setadi a kgosi, Kwa maotong ke Matlapeng a kgosi; Se ka tla u baya Pôôe-a-Mmolotsi, Katiba o mo omile ka lerumo ga raro, O rile labone a batla go mo tlhaba, Kobane a ba a baea marumo a gagwe. Katiba kwa Mogotlhwi o a itsiwa, Ntlha pedi o tlhabeletsa koma. Go tswerwe koma ea MmaLegalana. Tlang, lo bone setlholo se se golo, Katiba kwano o role kola moriri a motho, Ke moriri a monna o moshibidu.

Gaborone of the BaTlôkwa!

The stone¹ was finely chiselled (by the Tribe),

They chiselled it to be the foundation of the village,

The foundation of the village at Tlôkweng.²

The ears represent Setadi,³

The feet represent Matlapeng;⁴

¹ Gaborone.

² Moshaweng or Gaborone's.

² Matlapeng's sister, aunt of Gaborone.

⁴ Gaborone's father.

Do not bring Pôwe the son of Mmolotsi into it,¹
He warned Katiba² with his spear three times,
The fourth time he nearly speared him³
Kobane⁴ laid his weapons aside.
Katiba is well known at Mogotlhwi,⁵
Twice has the war song been sung in his honour,
They sang the song of wailing.
Come and witness a wonderful thing,
Katiba is now wearing a man's scalp,
It is the scalp of a red haired man.

Arrangements were made with the Chief of the BaKwena, after Lord Selborne's visit, for the BaKwena to receive Gaborone in their Reserve but the old chief was held in such high esteem by his people that, rather than see him lose his independence, they resolved to decline the offer, preferring to pay rent to the British South Africa Company to whom the Imperial Government had transferred the tract of land referred to.⁶

From 1906 until the end of 1932, the BaTlôkwa paid the British South Africa Company an annual rent of £150, which was raised by means of a levy of 15/- per annum imposed by Chief Gaborone upon every able-bodied male member of the tribe. A lease dated 30th September, 1910, provided that the land should be held at the pleasure of the Company. In 1913 it was agreed by the Company "that the old chief should not be disturbed during his lifetime, provided it was understood that at his death the Natives now our tenants should move without further delay." This was reaffirmed in a letter from the Company dated 15th November, 1917.

That land was not rich in skins of which karosses are made, but the Chief was never at a loss to know what to give his friends, for he made very good chairs out of Native wood, and every High Commissioner to whom he was presented—even His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught—was asked by the old Chief to be pleased to accept one or more of the beautiful sticks which he used to make and polish up in his kgotla while hearing cases or discussing tribal affairs.

A MoTlôkwa, also called RaMongaka.

^a Pooe.

⁴ A MoTlôkwa.
⁵ A hill in the Transvaal. The site of a former settlement of the BaTlôkwa.
⁶ Proclamation No. 12 of 1905.

The question of their tenure of the land on which they were living was one of constant anxiety to the BaTlôkwa, faced, as they were, with the promise of ejectment on the death of Gaborone, thus, in 1931,¹ Matlala informed the Government that Gaborone was now totally blind, that he could scarcely crawl and might die at any moment. The BaTlôkwa repeated and stressed their desire to be allowed to remain where they were, and begged most earnestly that the Government would listen to their prayers.

Gaborone passed away on the 13th November, 1931, having seen so many springs, summers, autumns and winters, that it is difficult to say exactly how old he was, but it may be stated that in 1890 his long hair and very fine beard were already streaked with grey; he himself stated that he was born at Letlhakeng² and that he was a lad herding not sheep and goats but horned cattle (dikgomo) i.e. a lad of about twelve years of age when the Boers pursued into the North-Western Transvaal Moselekatse's warriors who had looted some of their cattle and Moselekatse was compelled to move further to the North³—Gaborone would thus have been in his 106th year when overtaken by death.

In his younger days he had been something of a hunter and when, in the winter of his life, the Ngwapa Hill (Selika) was mentioned to him by one who had just returned therefrom, his face brightened up and with a gleam in his misty eyes he exclaimed: "Ngwapa Hill! that is where, in my youth, I used to hunt elephant!" Among his hunting anecdotes was one concerning a Dutchman who was charged by an elephant and only just managed to escape with his life—his 'norse's tail remaining in the possession of the infuriated giant!

The old chief also had a keen sense of humour and it was always with the greatest interest that he listened to explanations relating to the White-man's latest inventions—so much so that on one occasion he remarked that the Almighty must indeed have created the Black man first and, discovering that he had omitted to give him brains, had made the White man and given him brains for the two!

He was very loyal to the British Throne and was also devoted to his people and they to him; their welfare was always his first thought and, reduced by force of circumstances to living with his followers on land which they could not call their own, the question ever uppermost in his mind was "What will become of them when I am no more?" But his

* 1837.

¹ 21st May, 1931.

² Putfontein No. 559, district Rustenburg.

spirit was unbroken: he was the descendant of brave chiefs and was himself always dignified and courteous.

MATLALA-A-MOLEFE

Gaborone's eldest son by his principal wife, Bakgotsi, was Molefe: when Bakgotsi died, Gaborone took MmaMoleka and placed her in the hut of the late Bakgotsi; she bore him three sons and two daughters and of the former, Peolane and Kesetse are still living.

Molefe's eldest son was Matlala and when Molefe died in 1922, Matlala was left to act for his grandfather in his old age.

On the 11th July, 1932, Matlala was installed as chief of the BaTlô-kwa, and in the same year, as the result of negotiations between the Government and the British South Africa Company, it was agreed that the BaTlôkwa should pay their rent in full up to the 31st December of that year and that thereafter "the area of land in the Gaberones Block now occupied by the BaTlôkwa tribe" be transferred by the British South Africa Company to the High Commissioner and proclaimed the "BaTlôkwa Native Reserve."

In October 1934 the tribe presented some oxen to the Government as a token of its gratitude—this gift the Government formally acknowledged by handing the oxen back to the Chief to be slaughtered and eaten by the people in the course of their rejoicings which lasted several days.

Meanwhile Matlala took steps to have a weir constructed across the Notwani River, and a dam built on the Maratadibe Rivulet to provide a better supply of water for his people and their stock. The dam has proved to be a very valuable asset but the weir silted up and the BaTlôkwa have had to go on digging pits in the bed of the river as they had done for many years past. More recently, however, through the agency of funds provided from the Colonial Development Fund, bore-holes have successfully been put down in the village.

At the Chief's instigation, funds were allocated from the Native Fund for the purpose of fencing off a strip of land all along the northern and eastern boundaries of the Reserve where the tribal gardens are situated.

^{122,213} morgen and 3 square roods. 2 Proclamation No. 44 of 1933.

Matlala is a staunch supporter of the institutions and customs of his forefathers and is considered to be an authority on Native law and customs. He never went to school and is not a convert to the Christian religion, but he does not in any way disapprove of or interfere with those of his people who profess Chrisitanity. His tribe is the only one in the Protectorate, besides the Ba-ga-Malete of Ramoutsa, which still regularly initiates its young men and women, and it speaks well for the chief and his people that it has not been necessary to apply Proclamation No. 41 of 1917 which prohibits the performance of rites of circumcision or initiation on young persons without the consent of their parents or guardians. No cases are known of young persons being forcibly initiated against their inclinations and an interesting case which bears this out arose at the time of the initiation of the Mafitlakgosi in 1936. The mother of a certain youth was married to his father according to Native custom but the bogadi agreed upon at the time of the marriage was never delivered to the parents of the bride. The time came when the father earnestly desired that his son be initiated but the latter refused and was supported in his refusal by his maternal grandmother who successfully contended that as the condition upon which her daughter had been given in marriage had not been fulfilled, the child of the marriage was under the control. not of his father but of his mother's family.

The Chief's heir, Kgosi Matlala, was born in 1908.

PRAISE-SONG OF MATLALA-A-MOLEFE

Thokwana e thele kima,
Kgomo e mashi e se ke ya fitlha;
Go mote Rabasha le bo monnawe.
Tau e thibile diphata, kgalemi ya bo Kesetse!
O rile a ema a bitsa banna,
O biditse banna ba Ramokete,
A bitsa Ratsebe le RaSipati,
A re " le seka la boifa, le tsamaeng."
Kgomo e kile ya ragaka ditshaba, le go e gama, ba seka ba e gama!
Ke letlapa la Mankwe, ke epetswe!
Ke letlapa le le jetsweng ke Modimo.

The little Antbear who gives generously!

The cow which has milk must not keep it back;
Rabasha¹ and his brothers sucked alternately.

¹ Rabasha, younger brother of Matiala, also Nkopo and Ramaeba.

The lion has barred all entrances and chided Kesetse¹ and his brother! He stood up and called to his men.

He called the children of Ramokete,

He called Ratsebe and RaSipati, saying to them

"Go forth and be not afraid."

The cow kicked all who came near it, and they never succeeded in milking it!

I am the stone descended from Mankwe and deep-rooted!

I am the foundation created by God.

LIST OF MEN'S REGIMENTS

? 1780. MADIMA.

Initiated at Mankwe during the reign of Taukobong; leader Kgotleng.

Explanation of Name:?

? 1785. MAFATSWANA.

Initiated at Pilwe during the reign of Taukobong; leader Makaba, eldest son of Taukobong's principal wife.

Explanation of Name: ?

? 1790. MAFHATLA ("Twins.")

Initiated at Pilwe during the reign of Taukobong; leader Molefe, second son of Taukobong's principal wife.

Explanation of Name: ?

? 1795. MATLAKANA.

Initiated at Pilwe during the reign of Taukobong; leader Bogatsu son of Makaba by Molefe.

Explanation of Name: ?

? 1800.

Initiated at Pilwe during the reign of Taukobong; leader Phiri, second son of Makaba's house by Molefe.

? 1805. MAGATA.

Initiated at Pilwe during the reign of Taukobong; leader Kgosi, elder son of Bogatsu.

Explanation of Name: ?

? 1810. MAFIRI. ("The hyenas".)

Initiated at Kolontwane by Molefe; leader Mabotowe, second son of Bogatsu.

¹ Kesetse, Matlala's uncle, and Kesetse's brother Peolane. The allusion is to an unsettled dispute regarding the division of Gaborone's estate.

Explanation of Name: ? A hyena lurking round the boys' encampment was killed by them.

? 1815. MATSHEMA.

Initiated at Marothodi during the reign of Bogatsu; leader Leshage, eldest son of Kgosi by a junior wife. Explanation of Name: ?

? 1820. MAOKETSA (MaOketsa=" The Reinforcements").

Initiated at Marothodi during the reign of Bogatsu; leader Basha, second son of Kgosi by a junior wife.

Explanation of Name: The Matshema appear to have been under strength and the Maoketsa went to make up this deficiency.

? 1826. MALOMAKGOMO (Ma-loma-kgomo=" The beef-eaters," or

DIPHAKANA.

Initiated at Letlhakeng during the regency of Basha; leader Matlapeng, son of Kgosi's principal wife.

Explanation of Name: The BaTlokwa were now back in their old haunts after their sojourn in the country of the Bamangwato and it is possible that a raid was carried out and some cattle captured while the *bogwera* was in progress, so that these young men were regaled with beef.

? 1830. ?

Initiated at Letlhakeng during the regency of Basha; leader Tutwane, third son of Kgosi by his junior wife.

? 1835. MAREMA (Ma-Rema=" The wood cutters").

Initiated at Mothatseng during the reign of Matlapeng; leader Molefe, son of?

Explanation of Name: They were detailed to cut the poles for the chief's kgotla at the new village, the tribe having just removed from Letlhakeng.

? 1840. MALATSI.

Initiated at Moumoomabele during the reign of Matlapeng; leader?

Explanation of Name:?

? 1845. MAGANELWA.

Initiated at Moumoomabele during the reign of Matlapeng; leader Gaborone, eldest son of Matlapeng's principal wife. Explanation of Name: ?

? 1854. MATSAAKGANG (Ma-tsaya-kgang="Those associated or with a dispute").

MASOKAPHALA.

Initiated at Dithêjwane during the reign of Matlapeng; leader Sedumedi, second son of Matlapeng's principal wife. Explanation of Name:?

? 1860. MAGWASA (go gwasa="to make a noise like that of water falling over stones").

Initiated at Dithêjwane during the reign of Matlapeng; leader Mokwena, eldest son of Matlapeng's third house.

Explanation of Name: It is said that before initiation these boys were in the habit of foregathering and holding serious discussions on the subject of herding cattle, watering cattle, et cetera.

? 1865. MAGOIWA.1

Initiated at Molepolole during the reign of Matlapeng; leader Moilwe, younger brother of Ramonnye in Matlapeng's second house.

Explanation of Name:?

? 1870. MAPOTOKISI ("The Portuguese").

Initiated at Molepolole during the reign of Matlapeng; leader Balebetse, third son of Matlapeng's fourth house.

Explanation of Name: Sechele, chief of the BaKwena, returned from a visit to Basutoland and certain parts of the Union of South Africa, with a story that a strange European race known as "Mapotokisi" was in the country. The information arrived when the "school" was on, hence the name of the regiment then formed.

? 1875. MAAKATHATA (Ma-ya-ka-thata=" Those who go through hard times").

Initiated at Tshwene Tshwene during the reign of Matlapeng, leader Molefe, only son of Gaborone's principal wife.

Explanation of Name: The tribe had not been long at Tshwene Tshwene, having left Molepolole on account of differences of opinion between the young men of both tribes.

¹ The only survivor of this group is Moswaane, son of Rapoo and grandson of Moswaane or Shau. Rapoo was a le-Lomakgomo (1826) and his father Moswaane or Shau was a le-Tlakana (1795). Our Moswaane was born at Moumoomabele and is now (1938) about 98 years old.

? 1882. MALATLHAKGOMO (Ma-latlha-kgomo="Those who lost the tribe's cattle").

Explanation of Name: These lads had shewn themselves to be inefficient herds and through their lack of vigilance the tribe had lost many head of cattle. See text page 186.

? 1886. MARATAKGOMO (Ma-rata-kgomo="Those of prize cattle").

Initiated at Tshwene Tshwene during the reign of Gaborone; leader Kuate, son of Gaborone by MmaMoleka.

Explanation of Name: Disciplinary measures had probably been introduced after Chief Gaborone's visit to Zeerust, for the Maratakgomo were noted for their keenness in the herding of the tribal cattle.

? 1890. MATSIE (Ma-Tsie=" The locusts").

Initiated at Gaberones during the reign of Gaborone; leader Obuseng, son of Mathuba the daughter of Gaborone by his first wife Bakgotsi.

Explanation of Name: The tribe had suffered severe losses from a visitation of locusts.

1901. MANKWE (" The leopards").

Initiated at Gaberones during the reign of Gaborone; leader Matlala, eldest son of Molefe's principal wife.

Explanation of Name: There used to be many leopards in the hills near the Transvaal border and these boys had shewn their valour by often going on leopard hunts with their seniors.

- 1907. MAKOMPONE ("Those associated with the Company").

 Initiated at Gaberones during the reign of Gaborone; leader
 Rabasha, second son of Molefe's principal wife.

 Explanation of Name: This group was formed in the year
 when the British South Africa Company fenced-off the farms of
 the Gaberones Block and introduced the rent which the BaTlokwa were to pay for many years to come.
- 1916 MASUTLAKGOSI ("Those who deride the Chief").

 Initiated at Gaberones during the reign of Gaborone; leader Nkopo (Baebini), third son of Molefe's principal wife.

 Explanation of Name: Many of the boys left home and went to attend initiation ceremonies at Ramoutsa, Shuping Stad and Taposa's Stad (Ga-Matlhaku) without the chief's permission.

1922. MAGATA.

Initiated at Gaberones during the reign of Gaborone; leader Kgosi II, eldest son of Matlala.

Explanation of Name: They were given the name of the regiment of their leader's ancestor (Kgosi the son of Bogatsu). Cf. Magata of 1805.

1928. MAOKETSA (Ma-oketsa=" The Reinforcements").

Initiated at Gaberones during the reign of Gaborone; leader Basha, Matlala's second son.

Explanation of Name: Like the Magata, they were given the name of the regiment of the previous Basha, cf. Maoketsa of 1820.

1931. MATSAAKGANG (Ma-tsaya-kgang="Those associated with or a dispute").

MASOKAPHALA.

Initiated at Gaberones during the reign of Gaborone; leader Sedumedi, Matlala's third son.

Explanation of Name: Like their predecessors they took the name of the regiment of the earlier Sedumedi. Cf. Matsaakgang of 1854.

1936. MAFITLAKGOSI ("Those associated with the denial of something to the Chief").

Initiated at Gaberones during the reign of Matlala; leader Tarabole, son of Kgori himself the son of Molefe by his second wife Kwonapedi.

Explanation of Name: The refusal of Peolane and Kesetse (Gaborone's sons by MmaMoleka) to hand over Gaborone's estate to Matlala. The leader of this mophato should have been Rabasha's son, but he refused to go to the bogwera.

LIST OF WOMEN'S REGIMENTS

(Note. The words a basadi [" of the women "] suffixed to the name of a regiment indicates that it was formed just after, and named after, the corresponding men's regiments, q.v. for the meaning and explanation of the regimental name.)

? 1841. MALATSI. (a basadi).

Initiated at Moumoomabele during the reign of Matlapeng; leader Bakgotsi, daughter of? (? later principal wife of Gaborone).

- ? 1856. MATSAAKGANG (or MASOKAPHALA) (a basadi).

 Initiated at Dithejwane during the reign of Matlapeng; leader
 MaSegokgo, second daughter of Matlapeng's principal wife.
- ? 1861. MAGWASA (a basadi).

 Initiated at Dithêjwane during the reign of Matlapeng; leader Setadi, younger daughter of Matlapeng's second house.
- ? 1866. MAGOIWA (a basadi).

 Initiated at Molepolole during the reign of Matlapeng; leader
 Mathuba, second daughter of Gaborone's principal wife.
- ? 1867. MAJAKGOMO (a basadi).

 Initiated at Molepolole during the reign of Matlapeng; leader
 Banewang, daughter of?
- ? 1871. MAPOTOKISI (a basadi).

 Initiated at Molepolole during the reign of Matlapeng; leader
 Kefeng, second daughter of Matlapeng's fifth house.
- ? 1876. MAAKATHATA (a basadi).

 Initiated at Tshwene Tshwene during the reign of Matlapeng; leader Mpheleng, daughter of Sedumedi, Matlapeng's second son in the first house.
- ? 1880. MALELAKGOSI (a basadi).

Initiated at Tshwene Tshwene during the reign of Gaborone; leader Sehume, daughter of Kgosi, the eldest son of Matlapeng's fourth house.

Literal translation: "Those who mourn the death of the Chief (Matlapeng)".

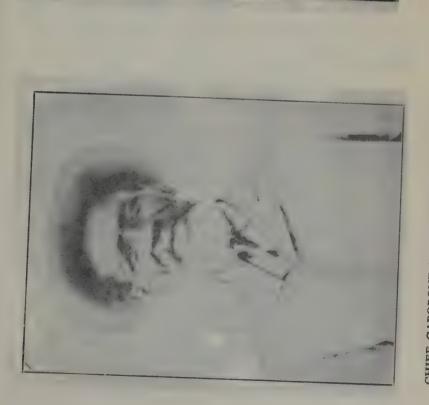
Explanation of Name: This unit was initiated soon after the death of Matlapeng and it is in accordance with Native custom that the first initiation after the accession of a new chief should be one of girls.

? 1883. MALATLHAKGOMO (a basadi).

Initiated at Tshwene Tshwene during the reign of Gaborone; leader Pipidi, daughter of Kgosi eldest son of Matlapeng's fourth house.

? 1887. MARATAKGOMO (a basadi).

Initiated at Tshwene Tshwene during the reign of Gaborone; leader Kesentseng, daughter of Gaborone by MmaMoleka.



CHIEF MATLALA-A-MOLEFE (1936) CHIEF GABORONE-A-MATLAPENG (About 1912)



? 1891. MATSIE (a basadi).

Initiated at Gaberones during the reign of Gaborone; leader MmaDira, second daughter of Gaborone by MmaMoleka.

1902. MANKWE (a basadi).

Initiated at Gaberones during the reign of Gaborone; leader Tšhabang, Matlala's eldest sister.

1908. MAKOMPONE (a basadi).

Initiated at Gaberones during the reign of Gaborone; leader Bakgotsi, second daughter of Molefe's principal wife (Nong).

1916. MASUTLAKGOSI (a basadi).

Initiated at Gaberones during the reign of Gaborone; leader Thonoeng, third daughter of Molefe's first house.

Note—this "regiment" was called before its male counterpart because it was doubtful if a sufficient number of youths would come forward to justify the holding of a bogwera. See under Masutlakgosi.

1918. MARATAKGOSI (a basadi).

Initiated at Gaberones during the reign of Gaborone; leader Samolapo, fourth daughter of Molefe's first house. No male counterpart because boys who should have been initiated at this time were allowed to join the Masutlakgosi.

Explanation of Name: Litt. "Those who love the Chief."

1921. MAGATA (a basadi).

Initiated at Gaberones during the reign of Gaborone; leader Katse, fifth daughter of Molefe's first house. Note that this group was also called before its male counterpart. No explanation for the name *Magata* can be given.

1929. MAOKETSA (a basadi).

Initiated at Gaberones during the reign of Gaborone; leader Alafang, Matlala's eldest daughter.

1934. MATSAAKGANG or MASOKAPHALA (a basadi).

Initiated at Gaberones during the reign of Matlala; leader MmaSegokgo, second daughter of Matlala.

MAFITLAKGOSI (a basadi), the leader of which will be Batlang, third daughter of Matlala.

0 3 *

TRIBAL DIVISIONS

		IRIDAL	DIVIBIONS	
D	ivision	Name	Head	Totem
1.	KGORO	KGOSING	CHIEF MATLALA GABORONE	Thakadu.
	Kgotlana	(a) Ba-Letlhaka	Seame Maotwaneng	Thakadu.
	"	(b) Ba-Tlhako	Headman Rakarwe Zachariah	Tlou.
	**	(c) Ba-Mmotso	Matlaarwele Tatedi	Tau
2.	KGORO	DIPYEGA	Headman Sethunya Bogatsu	Thakadu.
	Kgotlana	(a) BaKgatla	Ramodisa Motlhabai	Kgabo.
	,,	(b) Ba-Konyana	Motlokwe Modise	Nare.
	"	(c) Rampedi	Mabotowe Nkwe	Kgabo
	,,	(d) Moshung	Rama Seakgosing	Kgabo.
	,,	(e) Ba-ga-Mothapa	Masara Serufo	Phuti.
3.	KGORO	MONNENG ¹	Headman Sakaiwa	Thakadu.
	Kgotlana	(a) Magwadi	Ramomene Molefe	Thakadu.
	,,	(b) Kgakangwe	Ramotshibidu Motsama	i Mmutla
A	KGORO	MAFHATSWA	Headman Thekiso	Thakadu.
т.	KGOKO	MAPHAISWA	Ramathudi	I nakaau.
	Kgotlana	(a) Mmampotlo	Mogolodi Ramatlapeng	Thabadu
		(b) Maswaana	Headman Lota Meswele	
	,,	(c) Ba-ga-Tsikedi	Ntosane Dikolane	Thakadu
	"	(d) Matlaileng	Mogatusi Ranyere	Thakadu.
	29	(e) Raditsagalla		
	**			
5.	KGORO	THETHE	Headman Kereteletswe Moswaane	Thakadu.
	Kgotlana	(a) Ba-Moshamu	Modise Morapedi	Tlou.
	,,	(b) Ba-ga-	Segokgo Tlhoe	Tshwene.
	N .	Mashibitswana		
	Thaka	du=The Ant-bear	Nare =The Buffa	10
	Tlou	=The Elephant	Phuti = The Duike	
	Tau	=The Lion	Mmutla = The Hare	
	Kgabo		Pelo = The Heart	t
	0	Tshwene=T1	· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	

¹ Sometimes known as Dithama tsa Nti-a-Mothuloe, meaning the stray cattle which were handed over to Nti.

BATLOKWA CE

						Popu	latio	n					
				Males	5				Fema	les			
Triba! Division Kgoro (Ward)	Head	Unweaned babes	Under 16	Over 16	Old men	Total Males	Unweaned babes	Under 16	Over 16	Old women	Total Females	Total Population	Males
Kgosing	Matlala Gaborone	23	112	112	6	253	14	115	136	3	268	521	35
Dipyega	Sethunya Bogatsu	19	91	63	1	174	21	77	113	7	218	392	37
Monneng Mafhatswa	Sakaiwa Thêkiso	10	81	3 9	_	130	11	59	96	5	171	301	15
Thete	Ramathudi Kereteletswe	8	36	3 9	1	84	7	19	56		82	166	17
111000	Rapoo	6	31	25	3	65	7	45	42	3	97	162	11
		66	351	278	11	706	60	315	443	18	836	1542	115

Absentees

284

Total Population 1826

NSUS (1936)

						Abse	ntees				Liv	estock,	, etc.		
Females as	Total	Males	Females Illiter	Total Total	Mines	Farm labour	Visiting	Miscellaneous	Horses & Mules	Donkeys	Cattle	Sheep	Goats	Wagons	Ploughs
59	94	216	211	427	43	34	9	2	6	8	1079	204	416	15	67
82	119	137	136	273	35	15		5		30	666	157	315	3	38
57	72	115	114	229	22	25	8	1	_	4	714	48	114	9	36
18	35	66	65	131	8	21	19	6		15	504	67	136	7	23
13	24	58	.80	138	18	4	5	4			443	30	110	6	24
29	344	592	606	1198	126	99	41	18	6	57	3406	506	1091	40	188

NOTES ON THE DIET OF THE SWAZI IN THE PROTECTORATE1

By HILDA BEEMER

COLLECTION OF DATA

These notes were collected during the course of general sociological investigations (September 1934-April 1936, October 1936-January 1937). An attempt was made to collect figures which would be of value to the dietician on whom the anthropologist relies for the qualitative analysis necessary for any comparison of dietitic scales. It was difficult to collect this data; Swazi villages lie scattered over the countryside, and house to house investigations are impracticable. The greatest concentration of the population is at the villages of the King² and his Mother where as many as 200 or more people may permanently reside. But such villages cannot be regarded as typical the rulers are responsible for the welfare of these people, cattle are periodically slaughtered, relief is frequently given in years of famine to the most needy inmates. Similarly in the villages of chiefs, princes and wealthy commoners where there may be as many as 50 people, measurements of granaries in the year of famine (1935) gave little indication of the extent to which hunger would enter because there were always cattle which could be bartered for grain. To-day the majority of Swazi households are to some extent dependent on wage earnings to supplement their subsistence economy.

Formerly when villages were larger, and kinship bonds were stronger there was more security in times of dearth. It is usually in small villages inhabited by 4-8 people, mostly children, that "famine marauds." An increasing number of widows refuse either to raise children for the deceased by cohabiting with one of his relatives, or to remarry, but set up independent households with the children they already have. Sons on marriage now tend to break away from the

I thank Mr. A. G. Marwick and Sobhuza II for checking through these notes.
I call the Swazi ruler both King and Paramount Chief in this article. The word King expresses his position in the traditional culture, the words Paramount Chief the title used by the European Government.
The Natives often receive the worst of the barter. During the latter part of 1935 some traders were giving one bag of mealies (sold at 10/6d. in a good year, £1 in a bad year) for a fair sized heifer (worth at least £2). These Natives were forced to accept the bargain because their families were starving. Government Relief (mealies at 18/6d. per bag and later 15/6d. per bag) which allowed six months credit was almost too late to be of very much use. allowed six months credit was almost too late to be of very much use.

¹ I thank Mr. A. G. Marwick and Sobhuza II for checking through these notes.

patriarchal village, and, driven by the necessity to earn money, go to work for the European so that their wives are left to feed and care for the young family.¹ Polygamy is an important factor in considering adequacy of diet among the Swazi—in polygamous households if a woman falls ill, she and her children are usually tended by a co-wife, in a monogamous family, especially in bad years and busy agricultural seasons, illness for the mother means a scanty and sometimes bad diet for her and for her young. (See Chart of Agricultural Cycle, page 36.)

Weighing of food, even under more favourable circumstances than those obtaining in a scattered community such as the Swazi, takes many a iong hour. I had to content myself with selecting a few families to whom I went with my scale in the morning and again in the evening for a week roughly every three months, so as to get the seasonal variation. Meals are not regular, the number of eaters in a sociable and hospitable society varies from day to day and the Swazi say "beer is drunk whenever we can get it. When I have had enough beer I feel the day is ended, it is the time for sleep!"

I kept a close supervision over four school children whom I made write down what food they ate for a few days each month. I tried to work this through the schools—it could easily be done with real co-operation from the teachers. Some youngsters whom I asked to help, did so for a few days, then said "Now we are tired of writing down the same things every day."

These notes do not claim to be a comprehensive description of Swazi diet². Such a study requires collaboration—mainly in the field itself—of the botanist, biochemist, agricultural expert and anthropologist. Finally, unless an equally intensive study is made of the health of the people, even in a limited area, no definite conclusion can be arrived at as to the *real* effects of the food eaten in that area.

(b) Y, an old widow, looking after 5 children (about 4 to 15 years old) of deceased daughter Z. Z's husband earns 30/- per month on tin mine "but he does not worry about us." Roughly one acre is under cultivation. The children beg food "and if we can we steal." It is very unusual for Swazi children to steal food, and this confession shows the dire straits of this particular family.

^aThe extent and possibilities of such a study are outlined in the article by Raymond Firth. The Sociological Study of Native Diet. Africa 1934. VII No. 4. 401-415. See also articles in Africa, Vol. IX, No. 2.

¹ Examples of hardship. (a) Lunyawo went to the Mines, leaving behind a pregnant wife X and 3 children, under 10 years. During the ploughing season X took ill. She had no one to brew beer for her to reward anyone who would plough for her and no money. X's children cooked and gathered wood. The youngest got dysentery. A neighbour ploughed a field for X and occasionally gathered wood for her. X planted nothing but a few mealies that year.

ENVIRONMENTAL AND DEMOGRAPHIC FACTORS

The Protectorate of Swaziland lies wedged geographically, politically and economically between the Union of South Africa and Portuguese East Africa. Swaziland is a small country, with a total area of 6704.6 square miles. The Native area is some 2,400 square miles or roughly one third of the whole Protectorate. According to the Swazi, the main factor which limits their food supply is a shortage of land.

The Native population, most of which is Swazi, is estimated at over 150,000 of whom some 15,000-20,000 live on the remaining two-thirds of the country which is European owned. This leaves roughly 57 people to the squares mile for the Native area, as compared with 38, four years back. This Native area is not in one consecutive block but in patches of varying size dotted among European farms and Crown lands.

The population is low compared with other agricultural countries, but the the question of fertility of soil, the climate and agricultural technique must be taken into consideration. Swaziland is usually divided into three fairly well defined regions of opproximately equal breadth. The mountainous high veld on the West rises to 5000 feet and averages about 3,500 feet, the middle veld averages about 2,000 feet and the low veld on the East ranges from 500 to 1,500 feet. The Swazi divide their country into inkangala, the high lands, and lihlanze, bush country. The boundary is defined by vegetation and natural land marks; for example, the bush country starts near Bremersdorp. From there to the Bulunga Mountains it is nearly bush, but the real bush stretches from the foot of the Bulunga, and the Mhlamanti River, to the foot of the Lubombo Mountains.

The climate in the high veld is healthy throughout the year whereas the low veld and parts of the middle veld suffer from intense heat and malaria during most of the summer months, especially January to April. The Swazi count four seasons (see calendar). The heaviest downpours are in summer; during much of autumn there are showers, and in winter and spring rain is rare. Rivers and rivulets water much of the country. Village sites are chosen largely by their proximity to clean water. Some of the rivers are infected with bilharzia, which has afflicted a large percentage of the people. Some of the

¹ Pim, A: Financial and Economic Situation of Swaziland. Report of Commission appointed by Secretary of State for Dominion Affairs. 1932, London.

² Labelled Native Area 1,2 etc., to 35. Some of these adjoin each other.

³ Many people say they have no pain from bilharzia, so do not go for treatment.
25 cases were treated at the Government Hospitals in 1935.

rivers are polluted for drinking purposes by the way in which they are utilised in the mining of alluvial tin.

The low country suffers most from lack of water; some villages lie more than five miles from the nearest spring. Practically no advantage is made of possibilities of storing water for drinking or of irrigating the land for agriculture. After the rain, when water collects in pools in the rocks, children especially in dry areas often drink it, though it is brown and sometimes it smells from cattle dung and urine. There are many cases of dysentery and diarrhoea.

Since the "land is the source of life," the fear of drought is a constant menace. The belief that the rulers of their nation (the hereditary King and his Mother) can make rain, gives to the people confidence of security and to the royal rainmakers a supernatural sanction for economic supremacy. Too much rain is also a grave danger; it not only washes away gardens especially on river banks but in clay soil prevents ploughing and planting.

The Swazi select their gardens with great care. Certain grass is the mark of a fertile soil,—virgin fields are prized, gardens are left to recuperate, soils e.g. emaßovini, ehlaßatsini, esidzakeni, are distinguished for the crops to be planted there.

In the highlands where the average rainfall is 40 to 80 inches, mealies are the main crop. Much of the highlands is in the possession of European sheep farmers who bring in their sheep from the Transvaal and Free State during winter months. The most fertile soil for agriculture lies in the low country and from here the people usually get good crops of corn (emabele). Deficiency of lime and phosplate in both the middle and high veld reduces the fertility of the crops and affects their quality.

The bush country¹ is rich in tree vegetation and is an excellent cattle area. Even in months when the grass is dry and insufficient, Native cattle keep in fair condition by eating the foliage and fruit of certain bushes and trees and the withered stalks of harvested crops.

Some crops can only be grown in certain parts of the country and naturally certain conditions both of soil and climate are more favourable in one area than in another. *Tindlubu* (jugo beans) for example cannot be grown in the extreme high veld, *ematabune*, (sweet potatoe) and *umsobo* (solanum nigrum) grow profusely on the Lubombo soil;

¹ Bush country here includes part of the middleveld which has excellent pasturage,

the marula is a seasonal wild food of the bushveld folk, and the green vegetables which grow wild in Swaziland vary from district to district.

FOODS

The Swazi depend primarily on agriculture and secondly on cattle for their subsistence.

Cereals. Maize (umbila) The annual agricultural cycle begins with the planting of maize on the river banks. The Swazi distinguish different varieties: Lwandlekazane, red mealies¹ are mealies of the royal family; lihomu are mainly white with the mealies very close to the cob; umgadu of Lomahasha or ngatane and umbila wesintu as this variety is called in the Lobamba district, has almost purple mealies which cannot be stored in the enclosures of the rulers of the royal villages—but are for the common people. Mnyanyane (Hickory King) and other umbila wabelungu (mealies of the Europeans), including American White and Horse Tooth mealie are being planted. The Swazi realise that different species take a shorter or longer time to ripen, but only under the influence of the European is there a "stepping" or calculated dependence of this fact². Some people use different varieties for different purposes—nearly all prefer the white mealie, lihomu for beer.

Corn. Emaßele or corn, was formerly grown more extensively than maize. At the present time, however, the Natives seem to be growing more maize than they did before for the following reasons: (1) Some Natives have insufficient crops to tide them over the lean months. (a) Maize ripens before emaßele and (b) maize is the first to ripen after the season of regulated abstinence³. (2) Maize requires less labour; keeping birds from the corn is a full time task in certain years. (3) Maize is also bought more than corn from trading stores, because Natives are now forced to buy a large proportion of their cereal food and maize is cheaper than corn.

There are many types of corn, some regarded as indigenous and some as introduced. The indigenous include ntweka (Pennisetum typhoideum) which grows high and is very good for beer; gabane which is shortish; litshakana which grows on the high veld and ripens quickly.

¹ Swazi say "red" it is yellow rather than red. Varieties are to be identified.

Maize and mealies are the same.

There is very little difference in dietetic value between the different varieties of maize or corn.

³ New mealies may not be eaten before the Annual National Ceremony, the incwala, which falls between December and January.

In the north, in the Lomahasha district, *luphoko* (*Eleusine coracana*) and *unyawotsi* (*spicata*) are cultivated. These latter varieties are grown occasionally further south.

Sweet Millet. Planted at the same time and frequently interspersed with mealies are varieties of sweet millet (imfe).

Succulent vegetables. Pumpkin (litsanga), gourd (liselwa) kafir melon (lijoti) are planted in mealie gardens and around the houses on rubbish heaps.

Legume and Root Crops. Usually in a separate plot are grown important supplementary crops: Cow peas (tinhlumayo—Vigna sinensis), monkey nuts (ematongamane—sp. Arachis hypogea), jugo beans (tindlubu—Voandzeia hypogea), green gram (ngomeni—Phaseolus mungo) and sweet potatoes (ubatata—Ipomoea batata).

Green vegetables. A very few green vegetables are actually planted. Emadumbe (Colocasia antiquorum) grow wild and are also sown behind some huts (partly in the belief that they will keep away termites), and sometimes they are actually planted in the gardens. Both tuber and leaves are used but not nearly as much as in Zululand. In Lomahasha the leaves of the sweet potato, known as Lidleledlele are made into a very delicious vegetable, but though this leaf grows almost everywhere else in Swaziland I have not seen it cooked. Pumpkin leaf is used green and also after having been dried in the sun. It is the most important of the green vegetables.

Uncultivated foods. The Swazi are aware of the value of umbidho (green vegetables) and utilise them with a good deal of intelligence¹. Certain plants such as ludonca and umsobo (Solanum nigrum) of which plants the fruit and leaf are used, grow as weeds in cultivated fields. Women always know where and when to find the wild plants. Silele (Portulaca oleracea) grows throughout the country during the summer, especially on the fertile sites of old villages, etinzaleni. There too grow imbuya and isheke (Amaranthus paniculetus and Amaranthus thunbergii). The wild edible plants are utilised almost as carefully as the cultivated crops, and for a woman to gather wild vegetables in another's garden without obtaining permission arouses hostility and suspicion of evil intentions. The Swazi are very particular about their green foods, which are most tender and tasty when still young and fresh during the early

¹ For fuller information see paper by Levy, L. F. Weintraub, D. and Fox, F. W.: The Food Value of Some Common Edible leaves. South African Medical Journal 1936. Vol. X 699-707.

rainy months. By May, though many *imbidho* (pl.) are still available, they are rather old, hard and bitter, and are only used if there is nothing better.

I have collected the names of over forcy vegetables. Specimens have been sent in for identification from different parts of Swaziland in response to a questionnaire issued by the South African Institute of Medical Research which is investigating the nutritive value of Native foods.

Fruits. I have collected a list of over nineteen fruits which are used to supplement the cultivated crops.

During their wandering over the veld, children nibble certain tasty plants. These are not brought home as are green vegetables and fruit. There are twenty-five such "plants of children" to be identified.

Meat. Swaziland, more especially the Bush veld, is rich in game, even at the present time.

"In pre-European days" the Natives say, "whenever we were hungry we could hunt." Today game laws limit the period of supply, and European farmers have ranches in some of the best game areas. Hunts take place in winter.

Cattle, the main accumulative wealth and most valued property, are of primary importance in Native diet. Sheep and goats are "poor man's cattle" and are more frequently killed for food. Chickens are enjoyed but are a temptation to people other than the owners as well. They seem to be safer in small villages. Eggs are rarely eaten by men, and never by women.

The water vole (livondo) field mouse (imbiba, libuti), some birds and rabbits are appreciated delicacies. Green and red caterpillars (emanyamane), locusts (sikonyane) species of grasshopper (intsetse—liboni, liwele) and flying ants (tinhlwa) are parts of the cuisine.

Milk. Made into various dishes is a very important item of diet.

Salt. According to the Swazi an equivalent of European salt was tormerly obtained from voizane, a type of soil, and from sishepelu (?) a plant no longer known to most of the present generation. Nowadays salt is bought from traders and is added to most meat and vegetable dishes.

Table II shows the nutritive value of the commoner foodstuffs.

¹ Field mice and grasshoppers only eaten by children.

SUPPLY AND DEMAND

Having listed the main foods of the Swazi, let us see if the supply is adequate to the needs of the people. As far as cultivated crops are concerned, consecutive Annual Reports published by the Administration, stated that the food stuffs grown by the Natives were only about one fifth of their requirements, the remaining four fifths being supplied by European farmers and by traders who import grain from the Union. In the areas most favourable for the cultivation of grain, the Natives often sell grain but are not infrequently found buying it back later on in the season at enhanced prices. A smart trader in Stegi is at present exchanging salt for an almost equal amount of emabele. "I will sell it back to them at standard price later in the year." The last Annual Report (1937) states that the Natives now produce almost sufficient food for their own requirements (presumably in good years).

The amount of Native land actually under cultivation has never been accurately surveyed and the Natives themselves have no recognised scale for measuring their plots, nor any standard sized field. A family of one man, two wives and three small children had only a little over two acres, while another family of two people had three excellent fields, one over an acre, two slightly under the acre.

The amount of land available for any family is largely dependent on the population in the district, while the status, wealth and individual energy of the applicant are important considerations. From the estimate in Government Annual Reports it seems that not more than 21% of the Native area or less than one acre per person (not per family) is under cultivation each year. The remaining land is issued for pasture, and for village sites or is allowed to lie fallow. The average yield of maize and kafir corn is estimated at one muid or two hundred lbs per acre; the yield from European farms is approximately 2.1 muid for maize and 1.7 for kafir corn. In the Argentine the maize yield is roughly 18 muid per morgen or 8.5 per acre. The Government estimates are perhaps inaccurate and the problem is made additionally difficult by the fact that the Swazi use a large proportion of their crops without storing them, and very often they are stored on the cobs.

We cannot here go into the question of why the yield is low, except to point out that the answer depends very much on the point of view: the Natives consides their land poor, over-worked and insufficient; the

Annual Reports on the Social and Economic Progress of the People of Swaziland Nos. 1553, 1594, 1654—1930, 1931. 1932. Published by His Majesty's Stationery Office, London.

European agricultural expert condemns their primitive agricultural technique—a shifting cultivation, lack of fertilisers, detrimental use of the plough, and overstocking. Whatever the cause, the fact remains that the land does not supply the Natives in the Protectorate with as much cereal foods as they need.

Maize as we have seen is entering more and more into Native diet. The Natives themselves consider corn more healthy. The following table shows the comparative composition of these two crops.

	Water	Crude Protein	Fat	Carbo hydrate	Phos	Fibre	Inorg. Salts	Cal- cium	Calor- ies
Kafir corn									
White	12.8	9.9	3.4	71.0	.311	1.3	1.62	.014	1,588
Red	13.5	11.1	3.7	68.9	.270	1.4	1.50	.016	***
Meal	11.1	10.3	3.4	72.1	.189	1.9	1.40	.011	1,620
Pearl									
Millet	9.4	13.7	5.1	67.7	.327	2.1	2.0	.014	1,670
(Inyaotsi)									1,700
Maize endo	sperm	9.0	2.0	75.0					
(Samp)									
Green	77.6	4.0	.56	20.7		1.4	.84		472
mealies									
Mealie meal	11.3	9.7	3.6	72.2	.25	1.7	1.1	.014	1,670.

Dr. Fox examined the nutritive value of 13 lbs mealie meal per day as the foundation for a "minimum diet" and concluded that such a bare ration scarcely provides the calories for light work while it contains only about half the amount of protein considered necessary for proper maintenance. In addition, there is a large preponderance of carbohydrate over fat, making it unduly bulky for its calorific value. Such a ration is exceedingly low in calcium while it is doubtful how much of the phosphorus would be available. Again the mineral salts contain a large excess of potassiums over sodium, and this would demand correction by means of common salt. Very small amounts of vitamin "A" might be present if yellow mealies were used, whilst the antiscorbutic vitamin would be entirely absent unless part of the meal was converted into beer He points out however that a "weekly ration of 2lbs of meat" would increase the daily protein intake to about 75 grams and would reduce the preponderance of carbohydrate and at the same time increase the fat-soluble vitamin. If we assume that 2lbs of maize or

¹ Annual Report.

Diet and Health in South Africa, also Malnutrition, by F. W. Fow (Medical Journal 1936 Vol. X-25-36).

kafir corn per day1 is necessary as a basis of the diet, the Swazi, to be a self-supporting adequately nourished peasantry, would require roughly 3.75 acres per head for cultivation if the yield remains one muid per acre, whereas from Government figures we find roughly 0.68 acres per head actually under cultivation for all crops.

The census of 1931 showed 311,240 Native owned cattle or one head to just under 3 morgens "a figure representing serious overstocking having regard to the quality of the pasture.2" This did not exclude land under cultivation nor the pasturage required for roughly 170,000 sheep and 107,968 goats. By 1937 Native cattle had increased to approximately 343,000.8

Cattle are not often killed by private families despite pressure from the Europeans. Cattle as among all S.E. Bantu are the main medium of consolidating contracts, they are used as legal tender, oxen are necessary to draw the plough, they are ritual value, the Natives are dependent on them as a standby in times of acute dearth, etc. trialisation has little respect for these age-old arguments-but the cattle remain.

Though there is an attempt to improve the stock by introducing good breeds and limiting the bulls, the cattle are deteriorating in quality-in 1930 the Principal Veterinary Officer considered 33% fit to pass the weight embargo of 800lbs imposed in 1924 by the Union of South Africa. In 1933 he estimated that the number had dropped to 11%. The result is that roughly 89% of Native cattle are unable to be marketed and remain to breed. This economic protectionist measure is a serious restriction on a possible source of money income or purchasing power. It also affects the quality of the cattle as a source of food, and of land for agricultural purposes.

The average amount of milk given by a cow below export standard varies considerably. Natives say that though their cows give less milk than those introduced by the European the milk is richer in cream. During November 1935, 11 cows from a herd in the middle yeld averaged under 1 gallon per day. It is doubtful whether cows owned by Natives at the present time average 1 pint per day throughout the year.4 A

¹ Children require slightly less than adults.

Pim Report, Page 4.
Annual Report, 1937, P. 10.
Opinion of A. Marwick, Resident Commissioner, and supported by the measurements made personally.

good Friesland averages $2\frac{1}{2}$ to 3 gallons per day per annum. According to the Swazi, however, there is only a shortage of milk during winter.

Goats milk is rarely drunk. "They are the wrong kind of goat." Most Swazi dislike the smell of the milk.

Without a full time worker on diet it is impossible to collect accurate data to show to what extent home production is adequate. Figures supplied by the people are only approximate, and throughout the year women buy small amounts of foodstuffs, especially grain for brewing beer, exchange pots or other goods for a measure of food and borrow from friends.

The ration of Native labourers in Government employment is $2\frac{1}{2}$ lbs. of maize meal per day and $1\frac{1}{2}$ lbs. of meat per week. At the McCreedy Tin Mines the ration is 3 lbs. meal per day and 2 lbs. meat per week. At Ondra's Mine near Ezulwini, the ration is $2\frac{1}{2}$. lbs meal per day and $1\frac{1}{2}$ lbs. meat per week. No green vegetables, fruits, beans, peas are included in these diets. Only at one mine can the labourers get free milk, and then as the owner's farm is some distance from the compound, few bother to fetch it. Some of the men, however, have small gardens in the vicinity where they plant mealies and pumpkins. In tribal life there is not the same mechanical and measured approach to food. "Sometimes one is satisfied. Tomorrow your navel sinks in," i.e., you are hungry.

Twenty women at different times measured out quantities of maize and kafir corn, which they considered adequate for the daily need of a healthy person. Taking the average, roughly 2.4lbs of maize per day would be required for sishwala, the thick porridge which gives the desired effect of fullness and satisfaction. An adult never feels satisfied unless he has had about 1½lbs of sishwala at a sitting. For incwancwa, thin porridge, which fills for a shorter time and which is often used when grain is running short, less maize is needed. Corn is usually made into litshinga, a loose porridge, or is mixed with some other ingredient, and could not be accurately gauged. If boiled and eaten as tinkobe or luhwayi slightly under 2lbs. mealies or corn respectively per person per day was considered reasonable.

Though Swazi very rarely in actual life measure rations out in this way, they naturally have a scale by which they judge the needs of the people for whom they cook. The amount is usually calculated on the needs of a whole family, for everybody is part of a household unit. What remains on the adults plate is handed to the children; food from the day before is often eaten for the first meal, for food must not be

wasted. Mealies and corn as we shall see are usually eaten with seasonings in tribal conditions, and finally there is always the incalculable individual differences of taste and appetite.

Distribution.

Among the Swazi there is frequent hunger among some, satiation of others, and to understand this we must correlate the distribution of food with social stratification.

The King and his Mother are the wealthiest people in the country, they possess the largest share of land, the largest herds of cattle and they can command the highest number of labourers. It is the duty of the traditional rulers in their capacity of "herdsmen of the people" and not as individual owners to utilise these privileges for the benefit of the people. They pakela live—serve out the country. Cultivation of the soil is at the basis of the traditional economy which is organized mainly on the principle that every member of society has the right to food, which means a right to land. The verb kupakela primarily means "to dish out food."

Scattered throughout the country are the emasimu enkosi, gardens of the King. When the King and his Mother want land for cultivation, they can obtain it from the district of any local chief. The size and number of these gardens is restricted by the general land position of the people, and the knowledge that it is neither wise nor right to tax the loyalty of subjects too heavily. It is significant that in order to fulfil their economic obligations the rulers were forced to buy grain in 1935 and 1936 from European traders.

To win food from the soil an adequate number of labourers are a necessary prerequisite and where, as in Swaziland, the yield is low, the problem of labour becomes increasingly acute. The King and his Mother have permanent labour batallions—the age regiments—in residence at the royal villages. At the time of the main annual ceremony (towards December) all the men who attended are expected to weed the ruler's gardens in the vicinity of the capitals.

In addition to land the rulers have certain herds of cattle which belong to "Kingship" at various posts in the country. Some of these are for ritual, and cannot be exchanged, sold or arbitrarily killed. Other cattle from royal herds are expected to be used for the economic requirements of the people:—reward for labour, gifts in time of need,

lobola for a wife of a subject. Between 180 and 200 cattle were killed for food at the two main royal villages in 1935.

The milk from cattle at the cattle posts belongs to the man in charge, and he gives some to the young herd boys who assist him and occasionally he supplies neighbouring villages. Cattle are always kept at villages where there are wives and children of the King, for the Royal-children should never want for milk. It is doubtful, however, whether even they receive sufficient: as early as the beginning of June some of the children in the harem at the Queen Mother's village suffered from scurvy. But it may possibly be that the milk is not properly distributed. In August 1936 not even the children under a year were receiving any milk; the few pints that were obtained the herdboy gave to his dogs.

In addition to crops and cattle, the rulers receive a Government subsidy. The King receives £1000 and his mother £100 per annum.

Next in rank and wealth—the principles which usually determine adequacy of food—are princes and chiefs with local jurisdiction.² They usually have larger villages, lands and herds than others in their locality. Their land is mainly hereditary but can be divided up on the command of the King. At the present time there are numerous land disputes between chiefs over the boundaries of their respective areas. These disputes are on behalf of the commoners in their area who have insufficient land, and are waged by their chief for the sake of maintaining prestige and a large following. The bigger plots of the chief are worked periodically by men and women in their area who are called to a communal working party (umemo).

The wealth of commoners varies immensely as even such few figures as I collected indicate. Commoners pay allegiance to local chiefs and are given land for building and planting; they may also inherit land or be loaned gardens by friends. The jealousy over land, the right to resume cultivation of fields left fallow, prove that there never was unregulated or indiscriminate use of land or its produce.

Commoners if they wish to have assistance in their work hold a work party (lilima) and reward helpers with beer, a beast or other commodity, never as far as I know with money. Poor commoners often find it hard to get the co-operation from neighbours for they are unable to reciprocate with the necessary reward.⁸

¹ Ukulobola is the transference of cattle from the family of the groom to that of the bride ratifying a marriage.

There are a few cases where ordinary tribesmen are wealthier than their prince or chief.
A man who is called in to plough with oxen for another is paid in money.

At the present time therefore one section of the people are unable to support themselves on the land because of insufficient land, or/and inadequate technique, while another has not an adequate labour supply to utilise to the full the land at its disposal. One finds that many commoners and even sons of chiefs are being forced to earn a living in European industry to supplement the food from the land.

Theoretically distinctions established by wealth and birth are made less obvious in the quantitive distribution of the daily food by what has been described as the Bantu system of social insurance. By a process of symbolically coercive terminology the poorest commoner can regard the King as babe-father. The kinship tie is closest between members of the family who work and eat together, but it is extended to the clan, the local chieftain and ultimately to the rulers of the nation on the patriarchal pattern. Kinship imposes laws of hospitality and regulates the sharing of food. Under pressure of contact with the European, these ties are gradually being loosened. Poverty is becoming localised in certain sections of the community (a) where land is unfertile, e.g. near Mankaiana, (b) where land is scarce, e.g. sections of Hlatikulu, (c) where a widow and her young children live in isolation from her husband's family, which formerly would have exploited her childbearing capacity and cared for her and her offspring, and from her own family, which would have helped her especially if it had benefited by the cattle given by the husband in marriage, (d) where poor men have established separate households with only one wife in areas where neither have any near kin, (e) in cases where sickness has affected the woman, the main worker in the family.

THE UNIT OF PRODUCTION

In all strata of society, communal work and communal reward are sporadic and the major agricultural routine depends on the combined efforts of a single household. A household consists of a man, his mother, his wife or wives, their unmarried daughters and sons and sometimes (less frequently now than in the past) married sons and their families and a few dependents. Naturally the composition of the household is for ever being changed, by births, marriages, deaths, and temporary absences.

To stop friction and to secure better grazing a polygamist often establishes his wives in more than one village. Even in a large household every wife usually has her own quarters where she lives with her children. A woman may have a junior co-wife put into her hut and these two are regarded as one unit, for though they may have separate fields they pool their crops.¹ The mother of the headman, or if she is dead, the first wife of the man is put in the Great Hut.

The people in the household depend on the head of the household for their land. In Swaziland the man has always played an important part in agriculture, and the head of the household assisted by his unmarried sons works his own garden, the largest in the household. The women weed it for him, and sometimes with him. Each wife has her own plot and once an unmarried daughter has a lover she too is given a small holding, often by the mother, in which she grows delicacies, such as monkey nuts and tindlubu. Children from about ten years may be given tiny patches in the corner of the mother's garden, though they more often assist the grown ups. Unmarried sons sometimes plant a plot for themselves. Married sons have their own lands and they, in consultation with the father, allot lands to their wives. A husband tries to give each wife land proportionate to the size of her family, for inequality in cultivable land (umhlaba) is a source of friction in a polygamous household.

The land of a household or even of a single member of a household does not lie in one large stretch but is usually scattered in carefully selected plots which may be as much as five miles from the dwelling of the owner. One person may have his or her gardens in the areas of different chiefs, but should only be called upon to do communal work for the chief in whose area the living huts of the household are situated.

Allocation of garden work is based on the principles of age and sex though the distinction is not always rigidly maintained. The men usually do the clearing, especially of virgin fields (incatu sing.) but occasionally a woman will help her husband. Both men and women wield the hand hoe, dropping in the seed at the same time. Ploughing with oxen is throwing more of the agricultural work on the man's shoulders than formerly. Men usually lead the oxen, but a woman may help him if there is no son. Both men and women do weeding, but a man does not usually help his wives weed their gardens. When the crops are ripe men and women cut off the heads of mealies, or ears of corn which the women tie into bundles to carry home. Men and women thresh but women only winnow. In the present as in the past women bear the brunt of garden work in the Protectorate.

¹ There is a slight difference in the harem of the King which need not concern us here.

The first gardens (tivandze tokwendlulelisa) to be planted are usually those lying along the marshy river banks which do not need so much rain to soften the soil before hoeing can start. The size varies with status and with the population in the area. Since everyone is entitled to a patch, these gardens are never large (10 averaged roughly quarter of an acre each) and if the ground is very wet they are hoed with the Native hoe. From these small tracts the family pick the first mealies after the hunger months. Ideally each man and woman should have at least two mealie gardens, the first on the marshy land to provide the green mealies, and and the other, usually of red soil, and planted later (up to February) to provide mealies for storage. Each household (not each wife) should have one garden for corn.

Where land is scarce people usually economise first on land for the subsidiary foods—tindlubu, etc.

Each woman keeps the produce of her fields separately and no other wife can use it without her permission. Even her husband consults her before he sells or uses it. The individual ownership of grain is carried out even as far as the crops of small children are concerned. The crops from a man's garden usually go into the great hut, and should be kept distinct from those of the woman who lives there. The man distributes the food to his wives when their own has run out, and visitors who arrive are often fed from this source.

Storage

The Swazi store their mealies when still on the cob on exposed platforms. When once they have been rubbed off, some of the mealies are poured into grass baskets, tins, or other receptacles and kept in the store huts and the rest are thrown loose into underground granaries. These are dug in the cattle kraal, or if that is very moist, just outside, and they may be ten feet deep and about three feet across. They are dried with fire, plastered inside with dung and then covered with stones and sealed down. In the bushveld mealies are usually tied in bundles and placed in treetops out of reach of the cattle. Monkey nuts and jugo beans are sometimes stored in the underground granaries, otherwise they are kept in bags or baskets in a food hut. Mealies and kafir corn are graded for storage, e.g. kafircorn when harvested is divided into emaßele enhloko, which is the better grain and umfici which is inferior. The former is stored, the latter is kept out and made into beer. Weevils do not attack grain stored in the pits but the grain at the bottom of the pit usually turns mouldy from the damp after a few months and begins to smell pungently and unpleasantly,

According to the Paramount Chief, if grain is put into a grain basket which is then put inside the pit, it will often keep in perfect condition for six or seven years and the grain will continue to have the power to germinate. There is nearly always waste of crops thrown loose into pits. In either case great care must be taken never to open the pit when it is raining. After the grain is brought to the top it is often spread in the sun to dry and to be purged of the smell but there is frequently a certain portion which it is impossible to use.

PREPARATION OF FOOD

A woman's quarters consists of one or more living huts, a store room or two, and one in which she can do indoor cooking. Each family has its huts partitioned from the next family by reed screens. The huts within are arranged so as to leave an open space where the family can sit and bask in the sun and do cooking in fine weather.

In the preparation of the food a woman is usually assisted by her daughters. Men roast or cook meat and mealies but no man will kneel to the grinding, which is an essential part in the preparation of most foods. Grinding is a strenuous and lengthy part of the daily cooking and though it is difficult to gauge the time spent on it since it varies both with the skill of the grinder and the hardness of the grain, three experts separately timed took nearly one hour to grind $3\frac{1}{2}$ lbs of mealies—enough for a meal of two people. A woman often grinds twice a day. For different foods the grain requires different degrees of fineness. In beer, for example, uyahata, you sprinkle the corn with water and rub it not too fine whereas for inembe, the food for suckling children, uyacolisahala, you crush the grain into a very fine powder. The different dietetic values of grain become a matter of practical importance when the Native begins to buy already crushed and refined meal from the traders.

The woman must also see that there is sufficient wood and water for her cooking. Slowly Swaziland is being denuded of trees, and women and girls often walk ten miles and more to bring back a bundle which will last them for two days. Gathering faggots took place on an average three times a week in one family, different members going out on different days. In a few areas, such as near the Mhlambanyatsi River, the Sifunsi grass alone is available, while occasionally the household must resort to the burning of dung, however unpleasant they find the smell.

On the whole the Swazi women are fastidious of the cleanliness of their pots, and before doing any cooking a housewife washes her hands and scribs out her dishes first with sand, then with ashes, and dries them with leaves. Most women today cook in the three legged pots bought from traders, and use their own clay pots for serving food. When she grinds, a careful housewife sees that the grain which slips off the stone falls on a finely woven mat and does not touch the ground. A woman is humiliated if she hears that her neighbours call her *lidlaba*, sloven, and is proud to learn that she is admired as *umfati lokutsele*, an industrious wife.

INFANTS' DIET

Usually a baby's first food is *inembe*, the recipe of which is as follows: About 1 lb of kafir corn¹ or of maize is ground very smooth, water being sprinkled on the grain to soften it the while. The woman then takes about 1½ pints water and throws in the ground grain, *inhlama*, and mixes or kneeds it with her hands. Then she boils the mixture stirring all the while till it becomes the consistency of a thin gruel, then she strains off the *inhlama*. This will last a child about two days, but often fresh *inembe* is made daily. *Inembe* is the sole food of most children until the umbilical cord drops off. The clans that follow this custom are numerous and include the royal clan, the *Dhlamini*. They say for the first few days after birth the mother's milk is not clear white. The mother must squeeze it out. By the time the cord drops off, "the milk is alright." But no baby must be suckled for the first time on a cloudy day.¹

Clans have different customs and it would be interesting to notice if there was any correlation between infant mortality and feeding during roughly the first week of the child's life. For example the Ndwandwe give the baby milk from a cow before any other food. If there is no milk at the time, and the mother can borrow none, she takes a used milk pail in which sour milk has been kept and rinses it with water and gives a little of this to the child. Then it can suckle. The Gametse and Maposo clans give the breast the first day.

A baby is fed till the mother "sees that it has eaten." It might be necessary for her to hold its nose and pour the gruel into its mouth. A baby is soon given sour milk and when over six months old, greens. It is allowed from about that age to chew away at meat, and is given lumps of porridge. It is breast fed whenever it cries and it is weaned in the third year.

¹ The Dladla and Mnisi clans use kafir corn, others e.g. Dlamini use the yellow mealie choosing a cob with no black mealies on it.

FOOD FOR CHILDREN AND ADULTS

Green mealies, monkey nuts and jugo beans may be roasted and munched, kubasha, and this is said to strengthen the teeth. When old and hard, mealies are often boiled and eaten whole. Lukotsi is made from ground mealies sometimes mixed with monkey nuts and salt. It is very filling and is taken for journeys but it "makes a great thirst."

Porridge is often eaten alone by the Swazi though they prefer to have it with relish, e.g. ligusha (Corchorus tridens) which is made into a syrup, with or a mixture of greens—sijabane. Dried inshubabe is mixed with porridge. About 6 tozs of mealies and 1 tozs of inshubabe together with water made 14½ozs when cooked. It was considered an adequate dish for one person for one meal only in the day.

Beer is the food of adults par excellence. Cereal foods are often converted into beer, (utshwala). This can be made from maize or kafir corn separately or together. Beer from maize only is not very popular or common, that from kafir corn is considered excellent but somewhat too expensive, and as a rule there are equal quantities of both or slightly more mealies. Beer is usually made in fairly large quantities, both because neighbours drop in as soon as they hear that the much desired beverage is ready for consumption, and also because nowadays it is the woman's main method of making money. Beer made from 2/- mealies and 2/- kafir corn would probably be sold for 8/- or more; the majority of brewers reckon on making 100% profit. The making of the beer is a lengthy and arduous process, devolving entirely on the women. Co-wives usually co-operate, but in the family of a monogamist a friend may be invited to help with the tacit understanding of beer as her reward.3 A good wife will always see that her husband has either a pot of beer or mahewu to drink. Mahewu is soft porridge fermented by grain or by flour purchased from the European. Beer has a low, but quite real antiscorbutic value,4 which varies in different samples and it is also rich in vitamin B from the yeast; therefore it has been introduced into the minimum ration scale of Natives on the Transvaal Gold Mines. The use

¹ It is difficult to know where to draw the line in some cases between doctoring and dietetics. Numerous essential rites, including regular emetics, are performed on babies. Moreover most of the Swazi medicines are made from roots and sometimes the leaves of plants, which may be rich in vitamins or other properties which are valuable in compensating for dietictic deficiencies or in building up energy. Some of these medicines may act as tonics and should be tested.

² Ligusha was introduced about 16 or 17 years ago.

³ See recipe at end of article. ⁴ Dr. F. W, Fox. S. A. Medical Institute of Medical Research Johannesburg.

of grain for beer is, to some extent, wasteful since to brew roughly tweny-four pints of beer one uses up approximately six days food supply. A woman is considered spendthrift if she brews too often when the stores are getting low, but she is seriously criticised by her husband and his friends if she brews less than once a month when stores are high. A very diligent woman in a good season can never brew more than four times, because grain takes a long time to sprout and also because she runs short of pots. During the late Autumn when the kafir corn is ripe in the fields, people wander round from beer drink to beer drink.

Men whom I know have eaten nothing solid for nearly four days¹, and yet were able to walk many miles in the round of ukushinga (a leisurely wandering around to villages where beer is ready, in the hope of being offered a bowl). Formerly only adults drank beer, but to-day even children of four and five years old may be offered a drink. There are few people who dislike beer, and it can be regarded as a most important food for the majority of people.

The Swazi are connoisseurs of their beers. The kind of mealie, the degree of maturity, the amount of water all make a difference to the taste. Some women are said to have a "light hand," and others make beer "which is only water." Red mealies are said to spoil the 'sense' of a person, and white mealies are considered the best. Beer made from the variety called umtweka is said to last the longest. Mpekwa beer, which is only made in parts of the country such as Entonjeni in the Peak area, undergoes a double boiling, and is much stronger than ordinary utshwala. The average amount of utshwala which one man regards as just sufficient for food for the whole of one day is nearly nine pints, whereas on about half that quantity of mpekwa, he feels hlakaniphile (sharp, awake) which is one of the effects considered most pleasurable after drinking an adequate amount. Beer awakens a craving for meat, while, after drinking sufficient, other foods are despised.

MEAT

Meat, next to beer, is the most popular food, but it enters irregularly into the diet of the average person. Cattle are killed for special religious, political and economic purposes and not as part of the every day food. The whole of the animal is eaten unless it has been killed for certain rituals, in which case there may be specially imposed wastage or

¹ According to the Paramount Chief there are some people who live for a month and even more, on beer alone.

taboo. When a man kills a head of cattle, a sheep or a goat he informs his neighbours and the meat reaches a far wider circle than the immediate household of the donor. The portions are allotted according to differences of age and sex. The married women for example get the sifuba (chest) and the grown men the inhloko (head).

Parts of the animal, the meat which is inside (ekhatsi) such as the liver, entrails and kidneys, and strips of soft meat are roasted on the fire. The Swazi like their meat underdone (inengati, lit. "with blood.") Much of the animal is boiled for the whole of the following day and eaten in the afternoon. Gravy, umhluti, is usually strong and tasty and is poured into wooden platters which are handed to the different groups and each member drinks and passes on the dish. It is also used as a gravy for porridge. Bones are broken open for their marrow. The bubendze (clotted blood) is made into special dishes.

Dogs, donkeys, horses are not eaten. But putrescent meat of cattle and sheep, even if they have died of disease, are eaten by the majority of the people. The contents of the entrails are compared to the blood in ordinary meat, and the entrails, which are a delicacy, should always have a little of the *injeja* in to make them tasty. Nearly all wealthy men have one or two pigs which they fatten to kill later for their fat. Though the meat is eaten it is not popular and many complain it is so rich it makes them vomit.

Most of the delicacies enumerated earlier, e.g. locusts are fried and eaten with a little salt. Among the Swazi of the Lubombo and Bushveld strips of meat are dried and known as umcwayiba and can last for a few months¹. Most Swazi know how to preserve meat after it has been cooked (umkhunsu).

Flying ants are sometimes caught in large quantities, the Natives keeping an eye open for the hole from which they emerge. They are trapped into a large pot of water where they drown. They are then taken out, put in the sun to dry and later roasted to a delicate crispness. They can be stored for a whole year and are particularly prepared in in the bush veld, where they may even be sold.

Thus though beef and mutton enter only occasionally into the diet, there are many animal titbits which are rich in protein and which are available to all.

¹ This is probably introduced from neighbouring tribes. It is not done by the bulk of the Swazi.

MILK

One of the most valuable foods is milk (lubisi). Though we have no statistics to show how many families have milck cows, it is safe to say that practically every Swazi child receives a certain amount of milk in the summer months. The Swazi consider milk foods of great importance to health. Every family has its own milk vessels. Children and old people get the major share of milk. It is not often drunk fresh, except by the herdboys, who kleza (drink direct from the cow before allowing the calf to drink) and young people who sometimes drink cold, fresh milk. Fresh milk is believed by some to cause worms.

Once a man has taken a wife, he must have his milk heated or boiled if it is not soured. Girls and boys cannot drink milk in any form at the home of their future-in-laws. Married women often for the greater part of their married life, may never touch milk at the village of their husbands, for they have to wait until they receive special permission symbolised by the gift of a cow, the *lipakelo*. This means that pregnant women often receive no milk¹. A woman cannot drink milk after her husband has died. Thus through the control of milk by custom it enters in varying degrees into the diet of different sections of the people. Milk is used as a purifying medicine on certain ritual occasions.

Milk is usually turned into emasi² or sour milk. The fresh milk is poured into a gourd with a small hole at the bottom, which is stoppered. The milk is left until it curdles (the time this takes varies with the weather) and when it is thick, the herd boy takes out the stopper from the small hole and blows through the big opening at the top, the umlaza (whey) coming out in a thin stream which can then be drunk, while the thickened curds or emasi can be eaten. If one wants to curdle the milk quickly, fresh milk is added to some umlaza or to a little emasi which is left in the gourd.

Milk foods are very popular and can be made in many ways, for example umcaba: emasi is mixed with ground grain of boiled kafir corn and stirred up into a light and digestible dish. Lihongo is made by milking straight into the whey, the froth thickens and turns sour, then

¹ There are no special prohibitions on food during pregnancy, and a good husband will see that during this period, the woman receives food which she likes.

In the Bushveld where milk is plentiful, grown men also eat emasi, but in the middle and highveld, one seldom finds any but the children taking emasi. They often say their stomachs are not used to emasi since it is only available in summer in these parts of the country. Emasi as well fresh milk is said to cause worms.

one blows through the big opening as in the making of emasi to which lihongo is very similar.

Vegetables are mainly cooked but many are also eaten raw though not in any great quantity, e.g., a woman preparing a dish of sibadze (peocedanum sp.) will often nibble some of the leaves while stripping the others from the stem for cooking. Leaves of umshunku (growing in the summer in the middleveld) are also eaten raw. A few green leaves, such as those of the pumpkin, and of the umjumbulo, found mainly in Stegi and Portuguese East when dried in the sun are known as umfuso and are specially preserved for the winter. Green mealies can also be made into umfuso by boiling them a little when the leaves are still round the cobs and then hanging them up and boiling them again when required. They taste like fresh boiled mealies.

Women and children are most fond of vegetables. A mother will be heard urging her child to eat vegetables because it "makes right the stomach." Some men like vegetables but on the whole they are disdainful of them, and no man goes out especially to pick vegetables. Women season their vegetables with monkey nuts, salt and chillies.

I have found fruits, emantulo (Vangueria infausta) and umkwakwa (Strychnos spt.) dried and kept for times of dearth.

STIMULANTS

Fox. p. 4.

In addition to the beers mentioned earlier on, Natives in the bushveld make injemane (palm wine) from the lisundu palm. This is extremely sweet and strong. Luhaba (water melon) is also used to make an alcoholic beverage. The commonest of all stimulants made from fruit is emaganu (marula beer). The marula¹ (Sclerocarya caffra) ripens during the hot summer months and the etiquette of drinking, which allows any passerby to dip into the bowl, makes the marula season one of the most convivial of the year. The marula fruit and the beer made from it, are highly antiscorbutic.²

In addition to alcohol, dagga (Indian hemp) or *insangu* is one of the main stimulants used by men and occasionally by women. It staves off hunger (Swazi idiom—it dodges hunger), but when the effects have worn off, leaves a huge appetite. The spittle dries up after smoking and becomes very thick and white. When the army goes on any long

¹ The kernels, which are also eaten, are rich in fat and very tasty.
² Transvaal Mine Medical Officers Association, Vol. XVI, No. 172, 1936, F. W.

journey, each regiment takes along hemp and pipe. Its use is prohibited by European law, but those who are accustomed to it cannot give it up. Most Swazi deny that it has a deleterious effect on health unless smoked excessively.

Swazi old and young take snuff made from tobacco. A certain species with short leaves, known by the Native as *makambane* is said to be indigenous and other species have been introduced. The tobacco is mixed with burnt aloe or, it that is not available, certain less popular substitutes, such as the leaf of *mbuyabatwa* and *umkambi*. The leaves of tobacco are carefully ground and then sifted, since people are very particular about the quality of their snuff.

CONSUMERS

In Swazi economy the producers usually consume the bulk of their produce. In the case of the gardens worked by communal labour, there is, however, a slight difference. 'The age regiments who work for the King, his Mother and his wives do not receive any set proportion of the garden produce. They are given sporadic supplies of beer and grain and their main reward is in cattle.

As far as other communal working parties are concerned, they are fed on completion of their job. Women who help in winnowing the kafir corn receive small quantities for their labour, but as a rule reward for services is not a section of the raw material.

When the food is cooked, the women pakela titsha (serve the dishes). There are usually two meals a day, except in time of dearth when there is but one. Normally, the morning meal takes place at any time between 5 and 12 a.m., and the main meal is from 6 p.m. onwards. There is no injunction, however, against eating in between meals, and people are constantly nibbling titbits during the day, either through hunger or because it is not wise to miss food "in case you will be hungry." The feeling of fullness is greatly desired. In the morning each women who has cooked1 deals out food to the people in her own family, and they might eat it separately at different times, but in the evening there is a joint meal, each brings her husband a dish. another to the children (divided according to their age and sex), and one for the group of co-wives. According to law (or ideal), there should always be an extra ration for any stranger who might drop in, but now-a-days the pots are usually barely sufficient and the woman will give the visitor her share. The cooks do not discuss what they are going to make beforehand, though they may mention the matter among themselves, and there is sometimes an attempt at variety. This joint effort is useful for breaking the monotony of a meal and it saves one woman from making different dishes.

Mothers are responsible for seeing that members of their families are adequately fed. It is to the own mother and not to the classificatory or half-mother that children turn in times of hunger. Women have told me that in a time of hunger, they would stop cooking a dish for their mother-in-law rather than have their own children hungry. If the children are young, the parents try to see that they get sufficient food, even though they themselves and the older children go without. "Small children cry, grown-ups can be strong." A woman usually tries to feed her husband well, especially in a polygamous family, where there is acute rivalry for his affection. He, if wise, will take a little of each of the dishes and divide the remainder among the children. The amount of food given any group depends largely on the affection of the woman, for example, it is not uncommon to find that if she has a child of a co-wife staying with her, she will not be so particular about feeding it, as if it were her own. Women and children are the ones who are left to lick the dishes.

Both the quantity and the quality of Native food is largely dependent on sensonal changes. Food fluctuates between dearth and plenty, and the following calendar will show the correlation between the food cycle and the productive cycle. The Swazi have a lunar calendar of thirteen months, but under the influence of the European the one month of *Inhlangula* is frequently omitted. The Swazi check the months against the position of the sun, and the opening season for the new mealies, sugar cane and gourds is marked by a special ritual which begins when the sun is nearing its summer solstice and the moon is new.

Month
(English and approx
Swazi : equiv.)

Productive Cycle

Food Cycle

January.

Bimbitwane;
everyone is
satisfied.

Kubimbitela)

Last month possible for planting maize in areas where there is no frost. Last gardens, known as sangcapa. People busy getting huts ready for guarding the corns from birds.

Slight rains, plenty of foodnew mealies, pumpkins, gourds, sugar cane. Fruits on trees ripen—incosi, etc., kafir corn ripening. Marula beer.

¹ Co-wives affiliated to one hut might take it in turns to cook.

Month
(English and approx
Swazi: equiv.)

Productive Cycle

Food Cycle

Autumn Likwindla

February. Indlovana Little elephant.

Bringing in new mealies from early gardens. Women and children very busy guarding kafir corn, weeding the last gardens. Men break up old and virgin fields and allow them to lie unworked during winter.

Slight rain. Still eating new mealies and fresh foods and vegetables; cow peas and monkey nuts ripen. Women begin to bring in kafir corn. Marula beer

March Indlovu enkulu Big Elephant. Still bringing in mealies, tindlubu and other legumes. Early burning of grazing fields.

New Mealies and legumes. Marula beer.

Winter Ubusika

April—Mabasa Everyone begins to make a fire (kubasa) Beginning of cold season. Dry maize and fresh corn reaped, grain platforms built for storing old mealies. Women songa, tie the bundles. of mealies, together in the fields. Work sporadically from early in the morning until late in the afternoon.

Mealies getting dry, corn and the making of beer, greens at an end, using of dried vegetables. Milk getting scarce.

May Inkwekweti. to pick up everything you have (kwekweta). Harvest dry mealies for storage, picking corn, bringing in last pumpkins. Some peasants turning the grounds for next sowing. Hunting. Cattle graze on harvested fields.

Unusual for it to rain. Greens already old and bitter. Using dry mealies. Cows milked only once a day.

May to June Inhlangula: kuhlangula emacembe to brush off the leaves.

Beans and maize from last maize gardens are reaped. Women busy cutting grass for the huts, mats and baskets. Men cut saplings. Burning of late garden sites. Women and men still busy with building material. Moving of villages. Hunts arranged,

Strong North winds and leaves blown about. No rain. Start on stored foods. Beer drinks from first kafir corn and eat boiled whole corn. Very little milk. Dried greens. Emahaia (Aloe sp) begins to flower; eat its root.

July—Kolwane, A hawk, kolwane, which nests during this month.

End of harvest, ploughing but no planting. Waiting for Spring rains. Hunting season. Cutting of grass, etc., for building. Cleaning and threshing of corn. Mealies ripe for storing. Beans and peas brought in.

Little rain. Old food as above. Beer drinks on newly ripe emaßele. Cereals beans and peas and pumpkins. Hunting season.

Month
(English and approx.
Swazi: equiv.)

Productive Cycle

Food Cycle

Spring Emahlobolutudlana

August-Inci

If rain falls early gardens are planted with mealies, pump-kins, potatoes and sugar cane. Corn ripe in the fields for storage. Moving of Royal villages. Planting started in high lands. Busy burning grass.

Little rain. Food still sufficient in store huts. Cattle show slight improvement in quantity of milk given. Palm wine.

September.

Inyoni: A bird.

Inyoni named

Phezukwomkono
mates.

Very busy ploughing, planting and weeding and trying to finish off huts before heavy rains set in. Planting beans and peas as well as maize, etc. Early rains. Mealies getting less. Few greens and mushrooms. Using kafir corn.

October—Impala: The antelope Impala gives birth during this month. Also speak of ukuphala emasimi (to scrape the gardens.)

The great month for planting kafir corn. Everyone very busy, ploughing, sowing, weeding, building.

Intermittent storms. Stores low, hunger. Use of green vegetables and buying of grain. In bushveld mealies are nearly ripe. In the Highveld still small. Month for locusts.

Summer Ihlobo

November—Lweti, a star, also a kind of insect of the same name, Lweti who appears during this month. Inkosi lencane Little King.

Great agricultural activities. Weeding gardens. Some still planting beans. Building speeded up. Little Incwala (An agricultural ritual) may be held this month. Very late for planting mealies, but happens if rain was delayed.

Heavy rain in normal yearse Nearing peak of hunger. Mealies ripening and some already ripe. Green caterpillars and grass hoppers, mushrooms, and wild plants and insects. The market price rising. Buying of grain to brew beer for "little Incwala." If mealies ripe, people eat them secretly, "they steal," for permission has not yet been given. Taboo on pumpkin and mealie

December Inkosi Lenkulu the big King: the big Incwala usually played in this moon. Liduba breeds in the bushveld, sometimes gives its name to the moon which is also known as mavulangamiti, kuvungula to pick the teeth, mita, swallow.

Weeding of gardens. Busy preparations for the big Incwala.

Peak of hunger before the big Incwala hence the name mavulangamiti, to swallow the pickings of one's teeth. Great listlessness. People go around begging food. Corn Emabele bought from traders. After big Incwala start on the new crops if they are ripe.

There is no adjustment between the demands of labour and the adequacy of food, and in the months of November and the early part of December, when the people need their energies, their stores are at their lowest.

From the calendar we see that there is a striking seasonal variation in the diet of the Swazi. There is little or no actual starvation because most Swazi supplement their crops by a money wage or obtain assistance from kin, or eke out the necessities for life from the wild fruits of the field. But a large percentage of the people live on the border line during the summer months¹. The Natives consider Summer the time of hunger.

HEALTH AND DIET

They have exercise from their work in their fields and from walking and dancing. Little children run about almost naked, the traditional clothing of a man is a loin cloth and of a woman a skirt of grass or beads until on marriage, she puts on a heavy skin apron and skirt. European clothing is being adopted by both sexes. Fresh air, sunshine, exercise and clothing are important considerations when dealing with health, but I am not qualified to evaluate their effect amongst the Swazi.

According to the Annual Medical Report, the diet is seriously affecting the health of the Swazi. Scurvy "is most prevalent towards the end of the winter and though there is practically no mortality from it, it must undermine the general health to some extent. There is always some ordinary anaemia, the result of an ill-balanced and insufficient diet. Gastro-intestinal diseases in infants and young children are unfortunately very common. It is increased by the pernicious habit of feeding infants from their birth on thin maize porridge even when the mother has sufficient natural food " and later in the same Report " tuberculosis will become a serious problem in Swaziland..." and this too the Medical Officer attributes partly to the ill-balanced diet.

The Swazi themselves attribute certain ailments to different foods. After chewing much sweet reed they complain of bile (inyongo) though they always spit out the fibre. Fresh milk, and raw or underdone meat are said to cause worms. Curdled milk in large quantities makes a man very sleepy as though drunk, disables him from work for a few hours and makes him sweat heavily though he has done no work. This is one

¹ Note that dearth and scurvy do not coincide.

of the reasons why emasi is not drunk by men who have not become accustomed to it. Some people complain that locusts cause indigestion. Inhlanyelo, a rash, is taken as a sign of stomach disorders caused by eating bad "doctored foods." It is effectively treated by Native doctors. Bad beer is believed to bring on emagolwane, shivering and pains in the joints¹.

RITUAL RESTRICTIONS ON FOOD.

I have no space here to deal in detail with the way in which ritual limits the diet. There are certain clan tabus, e.g. the Dhlamini must not eat *imvu*, sheep. We have already mentioned milk tabus. Beer is prohibited to church members of many Native and European churches.

NEW FOODS

We can but mention the way in which European foods are entering Swazi diet.

Most of the men who return from any European labour centre have developed the habit of smoking cigarettes and occasionally pipes.

Food sold by the traders is practically the same as that grown in the Swazi's own gardens.

Many of the Natives have acquired the taste for new liquors made with sugar and potatoes and flour. Through their contact with Europeans, the Swazi are acquiring the taste for new fruits and vegetables: oranges, mangoes, pawpaws, onions, potatoes and cabbages. A few Swazi are planting these foods. The Swazi are not a very conservative people as far as food is concerned.

The high cost of transport affects the price of all commodities: mealies bought at 12/6 per bag in Johannesburg cost 1/- extra to be railed to Breyten, then they are transferred to the Railway motor bus, by the time they reach Ezulwini, the price is 1/- more and by the time they reach the bushveld, it has increased to 14/6d.

The trader also demands his profit on each bag. During 1935 the price of mealies rose to 18/6d. in the main centres, Mbabane, Ezulwini and Bremersdorp, and went up to 20/- in the out-of-the-way distributing centres in the bushveld.

¹ When sick, Swazi usually feed the patient on their maize gruel.

The following is a comparison of price lists of a few food stuffs sold in the Protectorate compared with two lists, one compiled by Dr. Fox, the other obtained from the Co-operative in the Native Western Township. Naturally, there is a certain range of fluctuation at each centre but it seems safe to say that food stuffs in the Protectorate are 50—70% higher than in the Union. The food bought from the traders is mainly the same as that which the Natives grow themselves mealies, kafir corn, beans and ground nuts.

	Swaziland.	Joha n nesburg	Native West Township.
Mealie Meal	1 d per lb.	1d per lb.	3d for 2½ lbs.
Flour	6d ,,	2 <u>1</u> d ,,	2½d per lb.
Sugar (1st grade)	6d .	3 1 d "	4d
Rice	5d	3d	. 3d
Coarse Salt	3d	1 dd	1 <u>‡</u> d
Kafir corn	3 1 d	1 1 d	1 <u>1</u> d

The following are samples of charts of food expenditure per month by an evangelist and by teachers in various parts of the middleveld.

Expenditure and Earnings.

2 Grown	Ups. 7	children—4	unde	r 11	yeai	rs old 1935,
Mealies	3/- per	day	90)/-	per	r month.
Salt	3d pe	r week	1	.j-	•	22
Sugar	1/6	,,	6	/6		1)
Bread	2/-	"	8	3/-		22
Jam	1/3	"	5	5/-		"
Matches	3d	"	1	Ĺ/-		"
Soap	6d	19	2	2/-		11
Paraffin	6d	**	2	2/-		33
Tea	6d	,,		_		
			£5	15	0	per month
Clothes for	children		£ ⁵	15		
Clothes for					3 0	p.a.
Clothes for Hymn book	adults ks		3	4	3	p.a. ,,
Clothes for Hymn book Paper 3d p	adults ks er month		3	4 10	3	p.a. ,,
Clothes for Hymn book	adults ks er month		3	4 10 10	3 0 0	p.a. ,,

Travelling-

Earns £1 p.m. as Evangelist and he also receives gifts in return for services. He has roughly 2 acres under cultivation. In 1935 he harvested 4 bags mealie and one-half bag monkey nuts. In 1934 he got 10 bags mealies and 2 bags monkey nuts from the same plot. There is a constant drain on his pocket by visitors, and from the figures it seems impossible for him to "balance his budget."

Monthly averages on teachers, budgets collected for 3 months 1935.

	A.	В.	C.	D.
	1 Girl	1 Man	2 Adults	2 Adults 1 child 4 yrs.
Mealie Meal	1/6	2/6	7/-	3/-
Mealies	-	-	3/-	8/-
Kafir Corn			3/-	3/~
Meat	6	4/-	4/-	3/-
Beans	1/6	2/-	2/-	2/-
Sugar	1/6	1/6	2/-	2/-
Flour	1/6	1/6	·	-/
Rice	1/6	2/-	1/6	1/-
Samp	1/-	-	-	-
Vegetables	. 6	-	1/6 (1	Fruit) -
Condensed Milk	1/-	1/-	1/-	2/-
Tea	1/-	1/-	1/-	1/6
Cocoa	1/-	-	1/-	
Bread	1/-	2/-	1/-	1/-
Salt	₩ 1,7	′ ′3	' 3	['] 3
Other Groceries	3	1/6	1/-	1/-
(e.g. Jam, Sweets)	13/9	19/3	29/3	27/9 p.m.

"A" lived near a relative who provided her with milk and very often sent her a dish of pumpkin or beans or porridge or even vegetables. Whenever there was meat she was sent a pound or two. "B" "C" and "D" often received gifts of milk. "B" never looked very healthy; the wives of "C" and "D" picked green vegetables and "D" also had a small garden in which his wife planted mealies, pumpkins and monkey nuts. "A" and "B" had no use for mealies, since "A" disdained grinding and "B" did not like asking anybody to grind for him. "A" earned £2 per month, "B" £8 per month, "C" and "D" £2 10s. per month. In none of the married couples did the woman get a cash wage.

Roughly 40% of able-bodied males (between 20 and 40 years old) are annually at work for the European. The average wage in the Transvaal Gold Mines where over nineteen thousand Swazi¹ annually obtain employment, is slightly under £3 per month plus keep. Most men in the Protectorate earn between 25/- and 30/- per month. In most cases the amount spent on food by them on their families in the Protectorate is dependent on the wages and is not dictated by any laws of dietetic adequacy.

Some of whom come from places other than Protectorate.

It has been estimated that in Johannesburg a family of four "consisting of a man, his wife and two children, one of five years and one of two, require approximately 60/- as the lowest cost of a diet consistent with the maintenance of reasonable health.² Thus in the Protectorate where the price of food is higher than in Johannesburg, not only is it necessary for the crops to be supplemented by money wages, but if the money wage is not subsidised by the fruits of the field, most of the rural Natives would be living below the minimum required for "reasonable health." On the other hand urban Natives with no land in the Protectorate have their wages adversely affected because rural Natives are their competitors in the labour market.

APPENDIX

I give below a few additional examples of cooked foods in common use.

UTSHWALA

Beer (utshwala) made from equal quantities of maize and kafir corn.

The first step is the preparation of the malt. The corn is put into water to soften it for subsequent sprouting, ukenywa emabele. The time which it is left in the water, depends on the season—in the Summer it is left for one day, in winter usually two. As Bryant has shown, the length of time "required for sprouting, as also for fermenting, varies considerably according to the locality, the season, the day heat at the particular time and quality of the seed." When it is taken out of the water, it is left to germinate in a warm hut, until it has shoots about a three-quarter inch long. Among the Zulu the malt is then dried and after a couple of days it is ready for grinding, though it can keep for a considerable while. The Swazi on the other hand grind the sprouted grain while it is still moist.

The next step is the brewing. Take the same amount of maize and place it in water until it is soft, then grind it. Very often it is ground twice to give it the necessary fineness. It is then known as *inhlama* or dough. Put the dough into a large pot and pour on sufficient boiling

¹ Native Economics 1932. Dr. Orenstein.

² 1. A. T. Bryant-A Description of Native Foodstuffs and their preparation.

water to cover it, then add cold water to reduce the mixture to medium warmth. One can add only cold water and then warm the whole mixture: ukufutumetela. On the following morning half fill the cooking cauldrons with cold water to which one adds the water taken from yesterday's mixture and allow this to boil. Take the dough and mix it in such quantities with the boiling water as to make it the consistency of thin porridge when it is umhido. The excess of water is removed with a ladle from time to time and used to fill up other pots. The boiling should take 30-40 minutes. The germinated seed is then ground, if this has not already been done, and a little is mixed with the umhido and set apart to ferment. It can be made into the first beer or lidlula. On the following day, the remainder of the malt is poured into the umhido to make it ferment and if necessary some of the lidlula can be added to accelerate fermentation. In about an hour's time the umhido should be covered with a layer of large bubbles when it is known as lihalatelo. It is then put through a grass strainer, the dregs (insekendze) or husks of corn (emashiga) remain behind and the beer is known as lipupusi. When the beer is strained, it is left until the following morning, during which pause fermentation has continued. is then at its best for drinking, and is known as utshwala. remain sweet for quite a few days, depending largely on the vessel in which it is kept. The day after it is properly matured as utshwala it is called mutshu and on the next mutshu wesibili and on the next umishoto and on the next umcocodo. After that it is either recooked or fresh malt is put into it to make it ferment, when it is called impetukane. Old men are particularly fond of beer when it is a few days old, and the final beer is the strongest.

MEAT

If an animal is killed by a dog, and the body is still warm, parts of it might be eaten raw. Lufu—the tripe, and other soft parts are enjoyed in this way. The way to roast meat is to get it warm with the blood uncoagulated, and undried. If an animal is killed on the hunt, parts may be eaten uncooked, and other inside parts roasted in strips, through which small sticks (tinsi) are pushed. Two and a half tinsi (about 1½lbs. of meat) are said to be adequate for a man who is not a glutton, if he also has adequate good beer. He will have the meat roasted with a little salt in the early morning, and about the same amount, or a little less, in the evening. Chiefs and wealthy people are said to grow fat on this diet of beer and meat. Meat is eaten with enjoyment even when very high.

SIDUDU

Take pumpkin or melon and cota (pare). Cut into small squares and put into sufficient boiling water to cover. Boil until very soft then stir with pronged stick like an egg beater. When so soft that it can be mashed up, pour in the ground maize. To one pumpkin weighing 10 lbs., $3\frac{1}{2}$ lbs. maize was added. Beat with a wooden spoon till the two are thoroughly mixed and allow to boil till fairly thick (for half to three-quarters of an hour).

The pumpkin of 10 lbs. and mealies weighing 3½ lbs. were divided when the mixture, now known as *sidudu*, was ready among 11 people as follows:

- 5 lbs. for three children under 11 years;
- 2 lbs. for one child under 4 years (child of owner of ingredients);
- 3 lbs. for 3 adult women including the owner who also dished out
- 1 lb. for herself on the lid of the pot;
- $2\frac{1}{2}$ lbs. for the head wife of the household;
- 1 lb. to a guest;

and the remainder, roughly 2 lbs. was left in the cooking pot for a little girl and boy both about ten years old who were in attendance on the household.

(All the children had had incwancwa, prepared the night before, early in the morning. The adults had had nothing but nine pints of beer which were shared with six other women.) The sidudu was not ready till nearly 11.30, the women then went to winnow and had nothing more till they returned and cooked a dish of tindlubu mixed with boiled emaßele.

This dish is made as follows: 6 pts. boiling water, $3\frac{3}{4}$ lbs. corn boiled till soft, then $1\frac{1}{2}$ lbs. tindhlubu boiled in separately when the corn is soft. The three women had under 2 lbs., the children were joined by two others and they got nearly 3 lbs. The women said they were still hungry, the children said they were satisfied.

ТІСАБА

Boil corn in water till soft. Take it out and grind it. It can then be eaten plain, but if you have any monkey nuts use them to flavour. Roast the monkey nuts first, then grind them and mix them with the corn and add salt to taste.

SIDLWADLWA

Boil corn and when soft grind it add gravy of meat and stir. Considered very tasty especially when the gravy is rich in fat.

LOBAMBA. SPECIMEN DIETARIES FROM VILLAGE RECORDS.

Date.	N7£	Dankla			
July 17 1936.	M. W.	People Children. 6-14 yrs.	Infants 2-6 years.	Food. 3 lbs. K. corn made into ticaba ready at 8.30 a.m. Porridge of 3. lbs mealies and 6 pints water ready 6.30 p.m.	Remarks. One woman went to tota and was away most of day. Other gleaned all day. Third cooked and sewed skin skirt. All tried to find beer.
,, 18.				Cooked nothing special in a.m. but were brewing beer and drank umhido about one pint per adult, less for the children. Boiled some mealies, which the children munched when they felt like it. Incwancwa, a soft porridge of 4 lbs mealies was ready at 6 p.m.	One woman at home others at work in fields. 2/- unthreshed corn bought from neighbour with profit from last beer sale.
,, 19.				Incwancwa not yet finished and nothing more cooked for the morning. Women went to seek beer.	Sunday. No work One woman at Church. Others looked for beer and paid visits.
July 17.	0 3	1		Incwancwa of 2 lbs mealies in a.m. $2\frac{1}{2}$ lbs mealies for porridge and gravy from 2 lbs meat.	One woman, very old and sick, cooked the food. Two others at work. One very fond of beer went to beer drink.
,, 18.				Still some porridge left which the child ate in the morning. At midday cooked breakfast of 2 lbs mealies and a small pumpkin (4 lbs). Some remained for the evening. Women	Two women at home. One in the fields.

the evening. Women bought sixpence beer.

No of People Date. W. M. Child-July 19 ren. 6-14

yrs.

Food. Incwancwa from 2 lbs mealies. Child roasted a few in frying pan. Friend brought them some tindlubu and in evening the mother made 1 lb tindlhubu together with 2 lbs boiled mealies.

Remarks. All at home.

4/12/35 M. Children W. 2-12 yrs. 1 1 2

2 lbs maize incwancwa 1 lb boiled mealies.

Man went to beer drink. Wife gathered wood. Children stayed and cooked and got water. Woman went to neighbour for fermented meal.

5/12/35.

3 lbs maize. Greens eaten with porridge as a relish. 1 lb boiled mealies towards sunset

12 p.m. Man went to plough with son. Woman cooked food with young daughter. All complained of hunger.

7/1/37 1 1 2

Porridge mixed with tindlubu. 4 lbs maize, 1 lb tindlubu, 1½ gallons milk.

Adults like beer only. Man went to beer drink. Ate nothing. Woman had a spoonful of porridge, and went to beer drink.

8/1/37

Incwancwa eaten by all: Roughly 4 lbs mealie meal. 3 lbs porridge and some green vegetables. 1½ gallons milk.

Women went to weed. Man walked about six miles. Women had Incwancwa at sunrise and returned in the late afternoon and ate mahewu. Then they ground mealies for porridge and made relish picked on the road to the garden.

SAMPLES FROM TWO SCHOOLBOYS' DIET SHEETS.

Date.	No of Meals.	Breakfast.	Evening Meal.
	20 days 2 meals per day 11 days 1 meal per day.	Porridge only: 10 days Incwancwa: 8 days. Sidlwadlwa. 1 day Umhido: 4 days Boiled Mealies: 6 days.	Porridge only: 8 days. Porridge & relish 5 days. Incwancwa: 3 days. Mahewu: 2 days. Meat: 1 day. Legume mixture: 2 days. Beer: 1 day.
Sept.	12 days. 2 meals per day. 19 days 1 meal per day.	Porridge only: 9 days Incwancwa: 8 days Boiled mealies: 3 days.	Porridge only: 9 days. Incwancwa: 5 days. Boiled corn: 4 days. Beer: 1 day. Litshinga: 4 days.
Jan. 1935.	per day. 13 days	Porridge only 14 days Incwancwa 3 days. Beer: 1 day Boiled corn: 2 days.	Porridge only: 9 days. Porridge and relish: 8 days. Legumes: 2 days. Meat 2 days. Beer: 2 days. Fresh mealies: 2 days. Boiled mealies: 2 days.

NUTRITIVE VALUE OF A FEW COMMON SWAZI FOOD STUFFS: TABLE 1.

	Wate	r. Crude Pro- tein.	Fat.	Carb- dyd.	Fibre	. Inog Salts	Cal- . cium	Phos- phs.	Iron	Cal- ories	Vitami A.B.	
Ground										0 (11		,
Nut.	4.8	30.3	47.3	11.5	4.0	2.1	.071	.399		2,641	++	
Pumpkin	n* 93.1	1.0	.1	5.2	- Carriera	.6	.023	.059	.8		++ +	++
Water*	92.4	.43	.2	6.7	.6	3.1	.011	.003		140		4
Melon Kafir* melon	95.7	.3		3.1	.4	.37				58		
Squash	88.3	1.4	,5	9.0		.8	.018	.6		209		
Locust*	59.6	7.9	7.9			1.8				549	++-	+
Meat	60	20	20	_	-	1.0	.01	.34	3.0	1200	+ +.	+ .
MILK	Amount	Calcium Grammes	Phos		ron Io Iilligran		Vit A Inter	Vit E	3 ¹ , Vi l Units		Vit C	Vit D
Milk	1000	1.2	0.9	2.4	0.02	0.05	3000	50-50	ric	h	poor	poor
Vege- tables		Pro-	Car ineral	•	Fibre s	Inog- calts	Calc.	Phosp.	Iron		s Vits A.B.B.	. C.D
Msobo* Leaf. (Solanum nigrum)		2.	55.				.269	.0363	.044	0		.67
Sibadze Leaf (Penceda um. sp)	85.7 in-	2.7	74				.50	Magne .085	esium. .0122			.92
	egs ++		+						+	+		-

ANTISCORBUTIC FOODS.

Milk; utshwala (beer from cereals); emaganu (Marula fruit, and beer made from the fruit) Vegetables, e.g. Potatoes, Pigweed and meat.

BREMERSDORP AREA.

A.	8 women, 7 children (16 people)	1935.	Produced. 4 bags mealies. 3 bags corn Few ematapane	Bought. 8 bags maize
		1936.	(20 cattle). 6 bags corn 2 bags maize	4 bags maize
В.	5 women, 8 children (14	1935.	Few ematapane (20 cattle). 4 bags maize 1 bag corn	7 bags maize
	people)	1936.	(30 cattle). 15 bags maize 1 bag corn (22 cattle).	No large quantities.

Diet in relation to Health in South Africa. F. W. Fox.
 Analysis supplied by Dr. Fox, South African Institute of Medical Research.

EDUCATIONAL PSYCHOLOGY IN THE SPEECH OF THE CHAGA¹

By OTTO F. RAUM

"One period of life follows the other as the sprouting banana leaf the drooping one." Thus the Chaga father sums up in a proverb a lesson which is given to his son and daughter during initiation: "The young smooth banana leaf laughed at the dry leaf teasing it: 'Why are you rustling here, always rustling?' Said the withered leaf: 'Don't I busy myself to make room for you to rustle!'" The same idea returns in one of the Chaga riddles "Begone, that I can take your place!"

The image of the banana leaf not only points out the transience of life, it also contrasts its stages and indicates the differences of character and temperament which age implies. In a great number of expressions the Chaga language characterises biological epochs, the caesuras of social promotion, the climacterics of life. It may justly be said that these expressions and the thoughts underlying them represent an incipient theory of education which realizes the implications of the law of growth and decay and the necessity of varying the instruments of training in accordance with it.

The first stage distinguished comprises the time from birth to the appearance of the first tooth or of the power to turn round from the supine to the prone position. During this time the baby is called a *mnangu*, the incomplete. It has not yet received a name and as such it belongs to the *matuma* class comprising beings without teeth or names. This lack of specific human qualities, it is argued, should elicit special consider ation for the child. A baby of such tender age is not beaten, nor is it scolded or carried across running water. During this period the modern Chaga mother gives her child breast milk only.

The second period of infancy runs from the time of the first tooth to about two years of age when normally another child may be expected. The child is then called a *mkoku*, the little one who just fills out the lap. Sometimes this stage is considered as terminated sooner, that is when the child has learned to walk and with it to escape from the security of the lap. With this naturally the educational difficulties begin, for the toddler not only makes mistakes, but seems to be definitely bent on mischief.

¹ The Chaga live on the slopes of Mt. Kilimanjaro, Tanganyika Territory.

² Raum, J., Versuch einer Grammatik der Dschaggasprache, 1909, p. 303 and 294.

He must, according to Chaga pedagogics, be beaten if he eats earth, cries without reason, or spoils something. On the other hand he is still given his special food from a special vessel.

Henceforward till about four years of age the child is known as mwana, infant. He is now considered a complete nuisance to parents and neighbours. He must not go away from home except with the permission of his parents. Nor is he allowed to look on at a beer party, someone will chase him away. Punishments must be increased to keep his spirits in check. He may be slapped or submitted to fasting. Yet in other respects he has become useful. Not only does he no more require a special diet, he now takes an active share in small domestic tasks. He gathers firewood, cuts litter for the cows and peels bananas for the cooking pot. Yet towards the end of this period a boy may be expected to express dissatisfaction with his condition. He will object to having to do the same menial tasks as his sister. He will feel shame at having to sleep at night with his mother and sisters. More than once will they and his friends hear him sigh: "Oh, if only I were a manake!"

A manake is a child of between four and fifteen years of age. has general permission to go for a stroll or to visit in the vicinity. His presence at beer parties is not objected to. But in other respects there must be constant reminders that he is of inferior status. He must not be allowed to listen to parental discussions concerning family affairs. He is continually threatened that if he remains as wicked as he is (in the case of girls it is laziness that is taken exception to), he will be hated as a man, he will neither become rich nor get a spouse. For boys punishments should increase in severity though they actually become rarer. Gradually cognizance should be taken of sex. Boys no longer sleep with the womenfolk. If they help their mothers in one of their many tasks it is not a duty but a favour. Girls, on the other hand, have to desist from looking on at the slaughtering of cattle, the task of men. The early pride of being a manake gradually wears away and gives place to scepticism about such status. This is confirmed by the derision with which a boy is treated by his elder, already circumcised acquaintances, who sneeringly call him iseka, an uncircumcised laughing-stock.

With raised hopes the boy becomes a mleu (youth) and the girl a monowaka (maiden). Such are their designations from the sixteenth year up to the time of marriage. A youth has the right to search for beer in a large district. Few restrictions are put upon his behaviour after he has been circumcised. He attends parental discussions of domestic business. He makes clandestine approaches to girls and may, if he wants

to, even propose marriage. Rarely does one hear of a youth having been punished. Continual insubordination should be met with rebukes and threats from the parents who may finally resort to curses. Moreover, in trying to reform him, the help of neighbours and kindred is legitimately enlisted. But the most effective educational weapon at this stage is parental opposition to an early marriage. Before the White man came the marriage age was later than it is now. For the elders maintained that early marriage made a man's body unfit for the hardships of war and that it resulted in loss of strength and courage. Permission to marry early was thus a privilege.

The maiden should be similarly treated. She is allowed to go for strolls where she pleases. She listens to the talk of women concerning domestic matters. She has reached her ambition of being circumcised and is no more held up to ridicule for being a minor. She is submitted to the same educational regimen as a youth. Warnings, threats and if necessary curses are employed by her parents to check waywardness. Wise women of her kin may be called in to remonstrate with her. If nothing avails her betrothed is advised to carry her off to be his wife. For what is privilege to him is punishment for her. She has been told for a long time that work, pain and trouble await her in marriage. And even if her heart tells her that she should take the risk, she is too much ashamed to give expression to her desire.

Msoro, the married man, has apparently unrestricted freedom. Yet his parents still watch over his conduct and take him to task for breaches of the tribal laws and for lack of reverence to them. A man who does not fulfill his kinship obligations may be punished with impotence by his parents, possibly with the help of the ancestors. But apart from this danger, this stage, conceived rather as a status than a biological epoch, is the ideal of all the preceding ones. A man is now his own master. He gets better food than ever before, and at times convenient to him. He lives with a wife and can issue orders without having himself to obey others. His wife, of the status of a mka, or married woman, is caught up in the whirl of domestic activities, agricultural pursuits and the work and trouble connected with child bearing and rearing. Her life, less desirous in anticipation, is yet richer and more human in fulfilment. A spinster is called rokya. Serious reasons must exist for her never having been desired in marriage. A man without a spouse is well-nigh unheard-of. Yet a few cases are remembered and the social deficiency of such bachelors is well expressed in the tradition that even when their hair had turned grey and their faces wizened they were still called "vouths."

Round these broad distinctions of developmental stages in educational thought, the Chaga language has coined a multiplicity of expressions for sub-divisions within the major periods. These, while hardly affecting the ambitions of the growing Native, are yet worth mentioning because in some cases they function like our diminutives and endearing terms as vehicles of parental affection, and in others show the Chaga's power of educational discrimination.

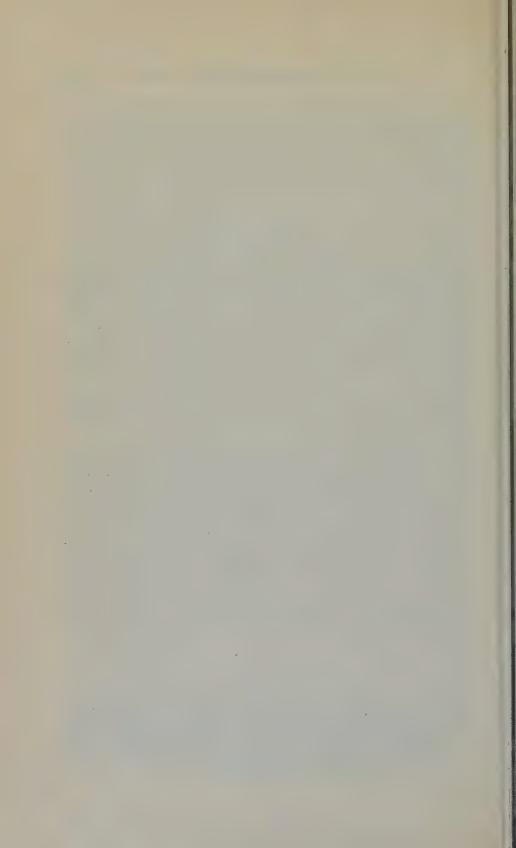
In the western dialect³ a small infant may be called ukele, "froggie"; a baby quick to cry is known as kibila or ibele; the youngest child is styled kidola, lit., little dove; when crawling about but not yet strong enough to walk the term applied to the child is kendanasi, while kidoro is used for a child or animal that has been weaned and irungu for a toddler. During childhood the term *iberu* is applied to a boy of less than average strength; ishamba is the title of a child that can be entrusted with the herding of goats and cattle; and ikomba in its metaphorical use draws attention to the fact that a boy's ears have not yet been pierced. Within the general group of uncircumcised children known by the derisive term of maseka, a small girl is designated by a special word, viz., sambura. Boys can be irritated into fits of wrath on being mockingly called *uloing'oni*, that is cockerel. But the acme of disgrace is reached by those unfortunate youngsters who as vana vasee were rejected as too young to undergo the operation. The preliminary step to circumcision in olden days was a rite in which boys were suspended over a fire of dry banana leaves. Had his generative powers been called forth in this manner, a boy bore the title of kibarangada. Girls and boys who have been operated upon are known as leso but there is a further subdivision made of the boys just about to enter their puberty who are known as vandurua. The age-class last circumcised is called mang'ati whereas the more general term for ageclass is rika, a word known among many East African tribes. From the time of her circumcision up to the time of the birth of her first child a woman is referred to as mpora, novice, a term also used for the boys in the initiation camp! After her first confinement a woman is described as malyi and after the birth of her second child as nka, wife proper. Beyond that she would show by the number of anklets how many legitimate children she has borne. Her husband, though not passing through so many social strata, is at least talked of appreciatively: "wumbi warima lungo," the eleusine stalk is growing nodules. A lonely man without a child is called a silly kira, a barren woman is scorned as kyumba.

From unpublished vocabulary collected by E. Müller.

In the central and eastern dialects of Chaga⁴ an infant in its first year may be called itshovila, the swung one, a reference to the parental habit of raising a child into the air and over the shoulders. There is a possibility that the name refers to an abandoned rite of accepting the child into the father's family. With the appearance of the second set of teeth a child is known as *ndentewura*, youngster, while the piercing of the ear advances a boy into the class of ndaka, who have greater independence. In some districts however this term is applied to all stages in which a human being enjoys youthful strength and thus extends from early childhood to full maturity with a wider range of denotation than maseka, the uncircumcised. During the restless period of early adolescence the uncircumcised loiter about in little groups which are graphically described as msumba, swarm. Among those that, in the past, were initiated according to the full ritual, three divisions were distinguished, the age-class comprising those who had undergone the full course of hardships and called the makulala, because they had slept in the open air, the makato, a group of striplings who had joined the full-blown youths for the last night only, and the woro, the shorn ones, because the cutting of their hair was the only rite performed on them. In the past, when a period of waiting and warring separated initiation from marriage, the young men got the title of kiruru, warrior.

These linguistic categories supply an amorphous framework in which the educational thought of the parents and the ambitions of their children move. The main distinctions form together an empirical psychology of childhood. Several important pedagogical principles are incorporated in them, viz., the recognition of the inevitable development of the child, the necessity of adapting educational measures to it, the child's active anticipation of his social advancement, and the employment of a nomenclature, implying according to circumstances, social approval or disapproval, as linguistic control of childish behaviour. Nobody would expect the average Chaga to boil down his ideas of education into these generalisations. Yet if confronted with them an intelligent Chaga would admit that they fairly represent the pedagogic wisdom of his people.

<sup>Cf. Gutmann, B., Das Recht der Dschagga, 1926, pp. 310, 317 and 328.
For similar theoretical stages, c.f. Miller, N. The Child in Primitive Society, 1928, p. 116, and Hagar, S. "The Four Seasons of the Mexican Ritual of Infancy," American Anthropologist, 1911, p. 299. Here we find an intentional comparison of the annual cycle with that of an infant's life, and again of the life journey with the sun cycle.</sup>



BOOK REVIEWS

The African Today and Tomorrow, by D. Westermann, with foreword by Lord Lugard; new revised edition, published for the International Institute of African Languages and Cultures; xvi + 355 pp. 1939, 8/6.

The first edition of this work appeared in 1934, under the title of *The African Today*. It contained much of the substance of lectures delivered by Dr. Westermann during his lecture tour of South Africa undertaken shortly before. The survey it contained was well received, a German edition appeared and now demand has come for a further English edition. This new edition, with slightly altered title bring the facts up to date and adds certain informative maps, and some illustrations which appeared in the German edition.

Dr. Westermann has presented in this book, not the ideal picture of Native life in Africa untouched by modern civilizing influences, but has given us a picture of contrasts and change, and indicated the tendencies towards which things are moving in Africa. No writer on Africa today can avoid dealing with debatable points touching various administrative policies; Dr. Westermann discusses these with great tact and insight, and yet gives a strong lead towards a more reasonable attitude. He writes: "The White man in Africa claims to lead his own life, and he should therefore be courageous enough to give the Black man at his side the opportunity of doing likewise... What seems more natural than to give the inhabitants of Native townships a local self-administration, and in this way educate them for responsible activities." Tendencies in this direction are today showing themselves in South Africa.

This book is packed full of valuable information and should be read by anyone anxious to get, within reasonable compass, a view of Africa as it is today and an insight into the problems which arise from "the clash of races" in this continent.

C.M.D.

Praktische Grammatica van het Lonkundo (Lomongo), by G. Hulstaert, De Sikkel, Antwerp, pp. 272. 1938.

This is a very welcome addition to our knowledge of this section of the Congo zone of Bantu languages. The publications of E. A. and L. Ruskin have done a lot for English students of Mongo, but there was need for such a study as this before us. Hulstaert had already made a

special study of tone in his Anthropos article "Les Tons en Lon-kundo." Increasing attention of late has been paid to this aspect of Bantu language study, especially in the Congo zone, and the author is to be congratulated on the way in which he has dealt with it throughout the publication under review. He has carefully recorded the tone changes and consistently marked them throughout the work.

The whole book is framed for practical ends, being arranged in a series of thirty graded studies with exercises, and replete with most useful idiomatic and informative examples and sentences. These sentences are not the least valuable part of the book. After the graded lessons, tables of verb forms are summarised for reference; then a Dutch-Nkundo vocabulary, followed by index and contents lists. A short introduction before the lessons deals with the phonology describing the sounds, stress, tone, elision, etc. Hulstaert records two types of stress, and describes the strange elision of b between two vowels. The type of vowel-harmony as well as the changes occurring before vowel-verb stems are typical of Congo languages, but the processes of harmony do not go so far in Nkundo as in some other languages of this zone.

It would have been an advantage if the noun classes had been compared with those set out by Meinhof for Ur-Bantu. Class 1a is recorded (on p. 51) and it is noteworthy that special concords are assumed.

The author has developed a useful method of referring to verb stems without their terminal vowel (as on page 91), but it would have been better if the incomplete words had been indicated between hyphens, e.g. -fend-,-il-, etc., so as to avoid misunderstanding.

No attempt has been made to classify the parts of speech in a truly Bantu way: the stereotyped European methods and nomenclature being retained. The word-division, too, could be much improved. Nevertheless the book is very welcome.

C.M.D.

Handleiding by die Aanleer van Transvaal-Sotho deur T. M. H. Endemann (van Schaik, Pretoria; 1939, 157 bl. Prys 1/9).

Hierdie boek is 'n welkome verskyning. Die enigste werkies wat tot dusver beskikbaar was, n.l. van Beyer, Franz en Mathabathe, en van Schwellnus in die Sotho-taal, was heel elementêr. Die wentenskaplike uiteenstetting van wyle K. Endemann, Versuch einer Grammatik des Sotho, wat in 1876 uitgegee is, het ook Suid-Sotho en Tswana vorms behandel, en is lank reeds uit druk. Ook is dit aanmoedigend dat Afrikaans as medium vir werke oor Bantoetale gebruik word.

In 1936 het die eerste grammatika van 'n Bantoetaal in Afrikaans van die hand van C. F. de Jager verskyn, n.l. *Handleiding by die studie van Sesoeto*, wat oor Suid-Sotho handel. Hierdie werk dui dus aan dat die belangstelling van Afrikaanse studente vir Bantoenavorsing aan die toeneem is.

Die werk onder bespreking is goed opgestel vir die praktiese student, en is met nuttig-gegradeerde oefeninge voorsien. Die fonologiese inleiding skyn voldoende te wees, en sluit ook 'n kort aanduiding oor die intonasie in.

Genoegsame voorbeelde om die reëls vir, concord' te verduidelik ontbreek ook nie. Die reëls waarvolgens nasale verkskerping geskied word duidelik uiteengesit in die afdeling wat handel oor die vorming van die vyfde substantiefklas uit werkwoorde (bl. 49-51), die eerste persoon voorwerp—, concord' met werkwoorde (bl. 83-85), en die refleksief (bl. 85-87), maar 'n mens sou liewer 'n afsonderlike behandeling van sulke verskynsels soos nasalering en palatalisering gesien het, of ten minste'n inhoudsregister waarin die verksynsels nageslaan kan word.

Die algemene indeling en wetenskaplike benaminge is geskik vir 'n taal wat nog disjunktief geskrywe word, en in heelwat gevalle word verbeterde terminologie gebruik. 'N beter indeling van die tye van die werkwoord kon gemaak gewees het, en 'n mens vind nog die ou nie-Bantoe uitkyk op sake in die verwysing na ,, die kopula kè, n.l. dit is.''

Uitvoeriger kon die behandeling van die afdeling op bl. 154 gewees het, wat handel oor "klanknabootsende woorde." Hierdie woorde moet in Bantoe as 'n afsonderlike rededeel beskou word en die benaming "ideofoon" word daarvoor gebruik.

Die uitgewers het die boek aantreklik met 'n duidelike letter en teen 'n baie redelike prys laat verskyn. Die skrywer word gelukgewens met sy waardevolle bydrae tot die Bantoe taal-navorsing.

C.M.D.

Red Strangers, by Elspeth Huxley.

Anthropological monographs strip men and women of their individuality, reducing them to types, while their behaviour is co-ordinated into aspects of culture—economic, legal and so on. At the other extreme is the psychological novel in which a few characters are studied in all their intimate differences and their actions are interpreted as peculiarly personal experiences. In recent years writers of fiction have begun to use anthropological material. They are faced with the task not only of making their

characters live but of making the alien culture which produced them comprehensible.

Red Strangers is a novel dealing with a small section of the Kikuyu of East Africa during the years 1890-1937. Vast changes took place during that time. In the early years (1890-1902) the Kikuyu were independent, military, glorying primarily in raids against the Masai. With the unexpected arrival of the "Red strangers" the Europeans, the Kikuyu found themselves a vanquished people. The warriors became wage-earners. The traditional government, based on grades of elders, was ignored, tax and incomprehensible laws were imposed.

The characters whose lives in Red Strangers depict the changing culture are types, but they are also distinct personalities. Muthengi is the warrior, fearless, strong, arrogant and shallow who, at first hostile to the European intruder, later receives a position of responsibility which he uses solely for his own benefit. His brother Matu is the true peasant, who from the days when he was a sickly, imaginative, "feminine" boy preferred work in the fields to boasting and killing. His son Karanja, is born in the insecure days of White domination, with restlessness his birthright. "Now I have become like a python in a pool. . . . The river flows down from above, but from where does it come? And it hurries on below, yet I do not know where it is going. For a year I shall do no work, but I shall walk about the world to seek its beginning and its end and to find out about all the people who are in it." There are others whom we recognise—the goat herd who runs away from home to learn to read at a mission school, the agricultural demonstrator who claims individual tenure over tribal land, the Archbishop who "came from Nairobi in a car "to start a true Kikuyu church unpolluted by European prejudices. And the White men are also true to types, farmers, administrators and missionaries the world over.

The book has the stamp of authenticity. Throughout there is a balanced impartial approach. The traditional culture is not idealised and the conflicts which it produced in the lives of the people are clearly shown. Nor, I feel, is there any emotional distortion in the description of the introduction and consequences of European control. Mrs. Huxley has selected with fine understanding the situation for her characters—a poor man unable to pay all the goats demanded by a wealthy and contemptuous father-in-law, fear of witchcraft driving men to seek new lands for their gardens and to build new homes, the leffects of famine on a peasantry, the failure of the medicines of the wise and powerful magicians to overcome the Europeans, the contact between the past and present

which causes bewilderment among the aged, and awakens curiosity and new desires in the young. One of the most stirring sections of the book describes what happened to the men who were taken to serve in the East African campaign in the 1914 war. Those Askaris who returned were "so quiet, so numb, as if they carried something dead within them and had left in a distant country their old knowledge of laughter and desire," and they agreed they would never speak of the things that had happened "because they are too evil to be mentioned."

Mrs. Huxley's knowledge of the Kikuyu is wide; it is derived from personal observation, accounts given by elders, and from reliable literature. The beautiful photographs she has taken show that she witnessed much of the life she so convincingly describes. Although she says that she is "well aware that no person of one race and culture can truly interpret events from the angle of individuals belonging to a totally different race and culture" she has given such extraordinary vividness to the factual material that I feel she has achieved this interpretation. Red Strangers is the most sympathetic and complete novel of African life which I have yet read, and a most valuable study to anyone interested in the effects of western civilisation upon a Native race.

H.K.

The Southern Bantu, by L. Marquard and T. G. Standing. Oxford University Press. 1939. Pages vii+262. Price 7/6.

Lack of understanding is the cause of much friction between Europeans and Bantu in South Africa. The Bantu are, of course, trying hard to understand the European and to adapt themselves to Western civilisation but they receive very little guidance or encouragement. White South Africa does not, in fact, know its own mind. On the one hand the Native who fails to adapt himself is spoken of derisively as a "raw kafir," and on the other hand the person who tries to be like the European is told to "develop along his own lines." What exactly those lines are nobody has been or will be able to indicate, because it is a sheer impossibility for the Bantu to live together with the European and at the same time to develop as though in isolation. But even if a miracle were to happen and this hypothetical purely Bantu culture were to become a reality, there is nothing in the history of our racial relations to show that the Europeans would pay very much attention to this new Native culture or accord it recognition of any kind. After sharing this country with the Natives for a hundred years the Europeans as a whole are still so ignorant of Bantu life and Bantu customs that one can safely predict that their attitude towards Bantu

culture will in practice always remain one of complete indifference even though they may in theory profess benevolent interest.

The simple truth is that the man-in-the-street is interested in real Bantu life very much in the same way as he is interested in a museum, where things are displayed because of their bistorical value only and not because they have any bearing on present day life. He knows that the day of Bantu culture is past.

That is why people merely glance at the excellent monographs on African tribes and then say that these books have been written by specialists for specialists. The elder Junod, Smith and Dale, Staijt and many other anthropologists have, in other words, made a definite contribution to the science of ethnology but their publications have by no means promoted better understanding between White and Black in South Africa.

Even more recent books such as Schapera's Western Civilisation and the Natives of South Africa, which describe the interaction of Bantu and European civilisation will not, I am afraid, reach the real public of South Africa. They too have been written by specialists who certainly offer useful and reliable information about "the Natives," but who, nevertheless, fail to convince the reader that these Natives are our South African Bantu, whose welfare is part and parcel of our own.

It is often said that the attitude of the Europeans in this country towards the Natives is rapidly becoming more enlightened and more sympathetic, and it is true, I think, that they are anxious to learn more about the Bantu. The growing demand for information about the Native as he exists in real life in our homes, on our farms, in the townships, and in the reserves is, I believe, met for the first time fully and adequately in the excellent little volume on the Southern Bantu by Marquard and Standing.

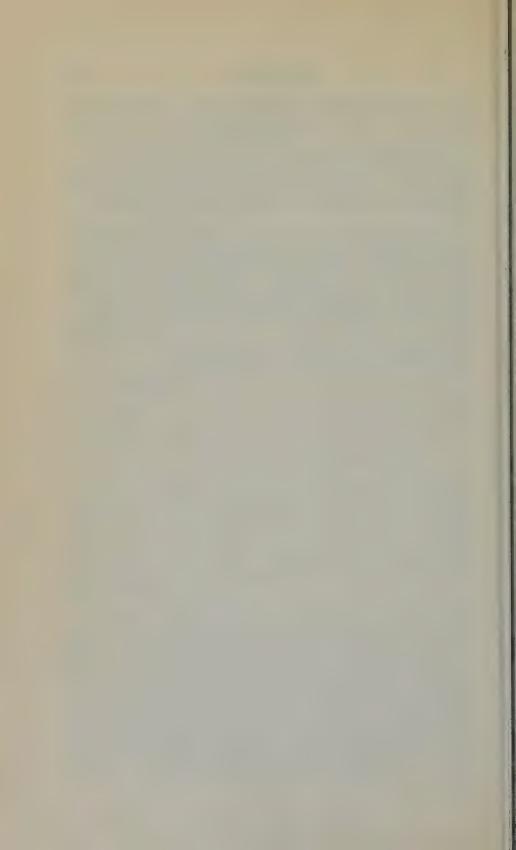
The authors tell us just those things which every well informed citizen should know about his servants and employees, the things he must know in order to take a helpful interest in the development of his Bantu countrymen. The facts are stated in simple, straightforward language and are presented in a singularly objective way. A useful index enables the reader to find the answers to the questions which are always exercising our minds: Native taxation; schools and school fees, wages in towns and on farms, Native etiquette, mine labour, the transfer of the Protectorates and many others. These subjects which crop up time and again in our daily conversations will cease to be a source of

embarrassment to the reader of *The Southern Bantu*. The maps which show the position and the size of the existing Reserves as well as of the released areas considerably enhance the value of this handy volume.

The first few chapters dealing with the origin and the old culture of the Bantu are perhaps somewhat superficial, and the bibliography given at the end of the book is a little meagre, but as the book has been written for the non-specialist reader, this is probably all to the good.

It is to be hoped that a cheaper edition of *The Southern Bantu* will soon become available, for, given the growing interest in our Native fellow-countrymen, I think that the wide distribution of this book should do a great deal to enable European South Africans to form sane opinions and to frame a far-sighted policy, which will lead to racial understanding and helpful co-operation with the Bantu. I would, however, like to urge the authors to prepare an Afrikaans translation as soon as possible, because I feel that every South African should be given the opportunity to read this book in his own language.

W. EISELEN.



SOME RIDDLES OF THE NYANJA PEOPLE

Collected and Annotated

By ERNEST GRAY

THE VALUE OF THE RIDDLE

The riddle is primarily a form of entertainment and is found at home amongst primitive peoples who have achieved a fairly high state of culture.

As amongst the South African Bantu, 1 so too amongst the Eastern Bantu of Nyasaland, the riddle appears to be valued solely as a social pastime.

Its educational value however, though incidental and secondary is very real, and its importance should not be overlooked. E. W. Smith writing on "Indigenous Education in Africa"; has defined education as "The whole process by which one generation transmits its culture to the succeeding generation." Accepting this broad definition, riddles are seen to have definite educational value.

Amongst the Bantu much technical knowledge is passed on through apprenticeships, whilst tribal usage, tribal history and sexual knowledge are transmitted by means of initiatory and other rites.

Over and above this formal and direct transmission of knowledge however, there is the more informal and often unconscious transmission of knowledge through folk-lore, proverbs, riddles and other play activities embodying traditional songs. This collection of oral material forms the medium of what might be termed a literary education.

Amongst civilized peoples the riddle has become a mere play on words, a catch, and often sheer inanity; but the true riddle or "sense riddle" as Tylor calls it, as it exists amongst primitive peoples, though often crude and pointless, does call for a considerable amount of intellectual ability both in its coining and answering. In the propounding and answering of riddles the wits of the young people are stimulated and their

¹ See I. Schapera. "Kxatla Riddles and Their Significance." Bantu Studies, Sept. 1932, pp. 125-231.

² See E. W. Smith. "Indigenous Education in Africa," in Essays Presented to C. G. Seligman.

memories trained. Moreover, the riddle often forms the child's first introduction to the names and habits of animals, birds, insects and plants; many of which play an important part in the everyday life of the adult.

Not only so, but as the appreciation of say, landscape painting, inevitably leads to an increased awareness of line, light and shade, and colour in nature itself; so an acquaintance with riddles leads to a keener interest in, and a greater knowledge of, those things with which the riddles deal.

Finally, all the tribal usages in speech are conveyed to the young in a natural and memorable way through tales, proverbs, and riddles.

THE EFFECT OF CULTURE CONTACT ON THE RIDDLE

So far as I can discover the riddle is still a quite popular pastime, and most boys and girls have a good repertoire. I recently asked a village school teacher to ask his scholars (about forty in number) for riddles, and in the course of one afternoon he wrote down over eighty.

At the same time, as I point out later, I see little evidence in the districts with which I am acquainted of continued vigorous growth. The riddles which show signs of having been coined recently do not strike me as being as apt or penetrating as the older ones.

There is a general tendency amongst the younger generation today to prefer European games and pastimes. The repetition of words and phrases from reading charts, arithmetical tables, and scraps of English learnt at school or picked up in the market place, are the memory tests which are coming into favour.1

RIDDLES IN CHINYANIA—THEIR SOURCE AND FORM

These riddles have been selected from a collection made during the years 1930 to 1939, chiefly from Natives living in the Ncheu and Zomba districts of Nyasaland Protectorate. The majority of the riddles have been collected from Angoni and Anyanja informants.

(b) the place of Native dances is being taken by an imitation of European ball-room dancing, accompanied by the gramophone or piano-

accordion.

¹ In the same way, (a) the place of Native songs and other play activities is being taken by the singing of hymns,—often quite mechanically and with an entire disregard of the meaning of the words. This is not confined to Christians or children of Christian parentage. It is not looked upon as a devotional exercise but as a pastime,

In Ncheu district the people are chiefly of mixed Angoni and Anyanja descent, though most of them will claim to be Angoni. The predominating culture is that of the Angoni.

In Zomba district there is a much more mixed population. Anyanja, Anguru and Wayao preponderate, with the Wayao in the minority numerically though their influence is strong. There is a slight sprinkling of peoples of other tribes. On the lower levels the predominating culture is that of the Anyania, whilst in the highlands the culture of the Wayao predominates.

In both districts the lingua franca is Chinyanja, though in Zomba district Chiyao (or Chichawa) is spoken extensively. All the riddles are recorded in Chinyanja, the language of the Anyanja or Mang'anja people.2

The Chinyanja word for riddle is cilape, (pl. zilape) though often the word mwambi, which has a much wider connotation, is used. The Angoni use the word ndaji (sing. and pl.) whilst the Wayao use a similar word ndawi (sing. and pl.)8

As in other Bantu tribes the recognised time for asking riddles is the evening, but the Anyanja say that riddles may be asked at any time of the day. No penalty is thereby incurred. Angoni informants however say that if you ask riddles before the evening meal your mother will die. Angoni informants say riddles are confined to children, but the Anyania say that even the "akuru" often join in.

When the evening meal is over the children gather round a communal fire in the "bwalo"—the cleared space in the middle of the village, or in front of a house—and entertain themselves with songs, folk-stories and riddles.

Anyone may lead off.

" Cilape!" A Riddle!

See "Tradition and Prestige Among the Angoni," an article by Margaret Read.
 Africa, Vol. IX, Oct. 1936, p. 456.
 So far as can be ascertained the Amalawi (Upper Shire and Southern Angoniland)
 the Anyanja (Shire Highlands and Palombe plain) and the Amang'anja (Lower the Anyanja (Shire Highlands and Palombe plain) and the Amang'anja (Lower Shire) come from a common stock. See A Handbook of Nyasaland, by S. S. Murray. Nyanja, means "lake;" Anyanja, "the people of the lake;" and Chinyanja, "the language of the lake people."

Informants who give their tribe as Ancheu also use the Chiyao word "ndawi." The Ancheu are Amalavi living near Ncheu, which in its turn takes its name from a chief called Akuncheu.

See Dale and Smith. The Ila Speaking Peoples. Vol. II, p. 324.

The Anyanja, however, prohibit the telling of "nthanu"—stories with songs—during the rains for fear the grain should not "tupa" (fill out—be plentiful)

during the rains for fear the grain should not "tupa" (fill out—be plentiful).

Another child takes up the challenge. "Nacize!" Let it come !1

The leader then interrogates the rest. The one who answered "nacize" has the right to guess first, but should he fail anyone else may attempt the solution. The leader continues to put riddles until one is answered correctly, whereupon they shout "wafa!" He has died! Another child (not necessarily the one who guessed the previous riddle) now becomes the interrogator. There is no evidence of splitting up into two groups for riddles as in some tribes, though groups are formed in many other play activities.

There does not appear to be any set form of words with which to bring the contest to a close, and the Anyanja say "atatopa angoleka"—when they are tired they just stop.

One Ngoni informant however says that all present must contribute at least one riddle before dispersing. Should anyone fail to do so the rest would burn his blanket when he had gone to sleep.

CLASSIFICATION AND ARRANGEMENT

1. Classification

The riddles have been classified under the following heads.

- (1) Natural Phenomena. (Numbers 1-18.)
- (2) The Vegetable World. (Numbers 19-24.)
- (3) The Animal World. a. Insects. (Numbers 25-35.) b. Animals. (Numbers 36-41.)
 - A (Number of Co.)
- (4) Crops and other Foods. (Numbers 42-66.)
- (5) The Human Body and its Functions. (Numbers 67-92.)
- (6) Domestic Life. (Numbers 93-102.)
- (7) Utensils and Other Objects. (Numbers 103-123.)

Except for a few minor differences this is the classification adopted by Dr. Schapera in the article on Kxatla Riddles to which I refer in the Bibliography. Dr. Schapera subdivides animals under the two headings

Where the Anyanja say "Cilape . . . nacize" the Angoni say "Ndaji . . . jize" and the Wayao "Ndawi . . . jijise." In each case the meaning is the same. "Nacize" seems to be derived from the verb "kudza"—to come, and "jijise" is the subjunctive of the Chiyao verb "jisa"—to come. See Hetherwick, A Handbook of the Yao Language, p. 69. The words "Cilape . . . nacize" preface each riddle asked. Rattray records the use of a longer form of introductory words which I myself have not heard. See Some Folk-Lore. Stories and Songs in Chinyanja.

"game animals" and "domestic animals," and he also has an additional class of riddles under the heading "White Man's Culture." It is perhaps not without significance that I have only come across about ten riddles which show any sign of European culture and most of these probably existed in a slightly different form before contact with Europeans took place. (See Numbers 18, 42, 47, 91,) Even those which could not have been coined until such culture contact had taken place are only incidentally concerned with European Culture. (See Numbers 23, 49, 107).

2. Arrangement

I have arranged the riddles in the following order.

- (1) The riddle in Chinyanja as originally told to me or written down for me, together with a translation in English. I have tried to give a more or less literal translation except where such a translation would fail to make the meaning clear.
 - (2) The answer to the riddle in Chinyanja and English.
- (3) The source of the riddle. Where I have first become acquainted with any riddle in a previous collection (e.g. Rattray) before hearing it from Native sources I have given the written source. Where I have first heard the riddle from Natives and later found it, or a similar one, in some written source, I have added the secondary source or mentioned it in the notes.
- (4) Brief notes have been added where the meaning is vague, where some custom lies behind the riddle, and where unusual words or grammatical constructions are employed.

Interesting variant forms have been noted, and I have referred to similar riddles current among other African tribes.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

I know of no book devoted entirely to riddles in the Nyanja language.

A few riddles are to be found in the following works:-

- (1) A Cyclopaedic Dictionary of the Mang'anja Language, Spoken in British Central Africa. (Published 1892, Now out of print). By the Rev. David Clement Scott.
- (2) Some Folk-Lore, Stories and Songs in Chinyanja. By R. Sutherland Rattray.

- (3) The Natives of British Central Africa. (Published 1906). By A. Werner.
- (4) Mleme. A Chinyanja Reader printed by the Blantyre Mission Press.

I have also referred in the explanatory notes to the following collections of the riddles of other African tribes:—

- (1) "Kxatla Riddles and their Significance." By I. Schapera. (Published in *Bantu Studies*, Vol. VI, September, 1932, pp. 215-231).
- (2) The Ila Speaking Peoples of Northern Rhodesia. (Vol. II, Ch. 27, pp. 324-330. Published 1920). By Edwin W. Smith and A. Murray Dale.
- (3) Africa Answers Back. (Part III, Ch. 5, p. 150.) By H. H. Prince Akiki K. Nyabongo.
- (4) Hausa Sayings and Folk-Lore. (pp. 51-55.) (Published 1912) By R. Fletcher.
- (5) Primitive Culture. (5th Edition, June, 1929, Vol. I, p. 91.) By Edward B. Tylor.

Other books I have consulted are *Dictionary of the Nyanja Language* by Scott and Hetherwick, based on Scott's Dictionary mentioned above; and *A Handbook of the Yao Language* by the Rev. Alexander Hetherwick.

ORTHOGRAPHICAL NOTES

In Chinyanja "c" is normally used in place of "ch," but except in documents written in Chinyanja "ch" is retained in the spelling of proper nouns.

"ng" (with the apostrophe) has the sound of "ng" in the word "sing."

"ng" (without the apostrophe) is pronounced as in the word "longer."

"ph" and "th" are aspirated consonants and are not pronounced as in the English words "phase," "the" and "thought."

I. NATURAL PHENOMENA

1. Riddle. Cikhadakhala ndi mpeni tikadatha tonse.

Had it possessed a knife we should all have been finished. (i.e. killed).

Answer, Mdima.

Darkness.

Source. Nyanja. Zomba District.

2. R. Komwe ayang'ana ndi konko.

Where it looks is there. (i.e. It always goes in the same direction.)

A. Madzi.

Water, i.e. a stream.

Source. Nyanja. Zomba District.

Notes. konko-shortened form of komweko=to that place there.

3. R. Kanthu kosagona tulo.

Something which does not sleep.

A. Madzi.

Water. (See No. 2.)

Source. Ngoni. Ncheu District.

Notes. kanthu—from the root -nthu (person) ka- is the singular diminutive prefix, so that kanthu is literally "some little thing" but it is used as the broader equivalent of cinthu—"a" thing, or "some" thing.

4. R. Kanthu kosamangika n'ciani?
What is something which cannot be bound.

A. Madzi.

Water.

Source. Rattray.

Notes. The answer to this riddle is also given as wind, (mpepo) or smoke (utsi).

5. R. Njira imeneyo ukapanda mubvi sungaipite.
You cannot go that way unless you have an arrow.

A. Nyanja. (Bwato pamodzi ndi mponda).

The Lake. (i.e. a boat and a punting pole).

Source Anyanja. Namiwawa village school, Zomba District.

6. R. Ndaca msampha wanga kalangali kapita.

I have set my trap—the "kalangali" has (already) gone.

A. Mphepo sigwidwa mu msampha.

The wind is not caught in a trap.

Source. Ngoni. Ncheu District.

Notes. Kalangali is not found in either Scott or Hetherwick; nor is it in Hetherwick's Handbook of the Yao Language. It may be a Ngoni word which has survived in the riddle though it has fallen out of general use, or may be used to confuse. See Notes on No. 40. Ndaca is probably an error. Ndacera would give a better rendering. The riddle would then read:—"I have set my trap for the kalangali, etc."

- .7. R. Sioneka!
 Invisible!
 - A. Mphepo.

 The wind.

Source. Nyanja. Zomba District.

Notes. For similar riddles consisting of one word or a short phrase expressing one idea see Nos. 3, 4, 17, 18, 19, 44, 70, 86, 101, 102, 106.

- 8. R. Angakuphere bambo wako ncofunikabe.

 Even though it kills your father it is still indispensible.
 - A. Moto. Fire.

Source. Ngoni. Ncheu District.

Notes. The answer to this riddle is often given as "madzi"—water.

- 9. R. Dziwe lalikuru alinkusamba mbali mokha.

 A large pool, (but—understood?) they are washing in the shallows (lit. "at the edge") only.
 - A. Moto. Fire.

Source. T. Price Esq., Church of Scotland Mission, Zomba.

Notes. Dziwe is a pool, where the river widens out into a pool or lake.

The meaning seems to be that as you must not venture too far into the pool, (crocodiles, or inability to swim) so you must not get too near to the fire. .10. R. Kanthu kosaoneka komwe kadagwera.

Something whose source cannot be seen.

A. Thambo.
A cloud.

Source. Rattray.

Notes. Kanthu see No. 3. kadagwera from "kugwera" meaning "to come from."

11. R. Njobvu yafera ku Blantyre, kuno mafupa okha gobede gobede.
The elephant has died at Blantyre, here the bones only (fall) with a hollow sound.

A. Nkhungulupsya.

Burnt-grass particles (blown about by the wind after a bush fire.)

Source. Angoni. Gowa School. Ncheu District.

Notes. Gobede-gobede. (or gwebede-gwebede) See note in Scott, p. 187 under gwebede.

Nkhungulupsya. A composite word, "Nkungu"=a mist or cloud. "lupsya"=burnt bush, the black motes of burnt grass that fly about during the bushfires.

- 12. R. Mtengo wagwera ku Malawi, nthambi zace zafika kuno.

 A tree has fallen at Malawi, the branches of it have reached here.
 - A. Nkhungulupsya.

 Burnt-grass particles. (See No. 11.)

Source. Ngoni. Ncheu District.

Notes. This riddle is very popular and wide-spread. The name of the place where the tree fell varies in each district.

The Anyanja in Zomba district usually substitute "ku Manguru" = in the country of the Anguru people. This also applies to riddle No. 11, although this riddle is not so well known.

- 13. R. Cinyama cofa m'malimwe, pfungo lace limveka kuno n'ciani?

 What is the animal which dies in the dry season and whose scent is smelled here?
 - A. Mvula.

Source. Rattray.

Notes. Mvula is the usual term for rain, but here it is obvious that the early rains are referred to as the later rains do not raise any earthy smell. For these early rains there are a number of terms, such as kokalupsya, cisesalupsya, cizimitsalupsya, and cikwapalupsya all referring to the burnt-grass particles which are swept away by the early rains.

14. R. Kanthu kofuma kutari, kutifeza ife pano.

Something coming from afar finds us here.

A. Mvula.

Source. Ngoni. Ncheu District. Also see Rattray.

Notes. Kutifeza. Some Angoni still used feza for the Chinyanja word peza, when I left Ncheu in 1936. Peza means to find.

15. R. Mwana mmodzi wakwanira dziko lonse.

One child is sufficient for the whole earth.

A. Dzuwa.

Source. Anyanja. Namiwawa Village School, Zomba District.

16. R. M'nyumba imodzi amao ali ndi dazi ndi ana onse amene ali ndi madazi.

In one house the mother is bald, and so are all the children.

A. Mwezi ndi nyenyezi.

The moon and the stars.

Source. Scott.

17. R. Kanthu kosanyamulikai.
Something it is impossible to lift.

A. Citunzitunzi.

A shadow (or reflection. Now used for photographs and pictures.)

Source. Nyanja. Zomba District. (See Rattray.)

18. R. Cija ndici.
That's this.

A. Citunzitunzi.
A photo. (See answer to No. 17.)

Source. Nyanja. Zomba District.

Notes. A more familiar form of this riddle amongst the Angoni is:—" Ako! aka!" That! This! the answer being the same.

I. Schapera records the following BaKxatla riddle: "Mpolelle: ke ya borwa ke dibela thswana, ke be ke boe ke ntse ke e dibela. Ke moriti. Tell me: I go south, I take care of the black thing, I come back and still take care of it. It is my shadow. (c.f. South Sotho: ka re ke ea le mona, e potela le 'na. I tried to come here and he turned hither with me: my shadow.)"

I have had two explanations of this riddle given to me.

- (1) That in the morning one's shadow is long and therefore distant ("that") whereas at noon it is short and under one's nose ("this").
- (2) When the answer is given as being a photo. "That"—the photo, is the same as "this"—the subject. The former explanation is of course most likely to be the original one.

II. THE VEGETABLE WORLD

19. R. Osawerengeka. Innumerable.

A. Maudzu. Grass.

Source. Nyanja. Zomba District.

20. R. Ndimati ndikaponda kaponda ine.
If I say, "I will tread on it" it will tread on me.

A. Minga. Thorns.

Source. Dzunje. Ncheu District. The majority of the people in this district say they are Angoni, but the informant who gave me this riddle said he was "Ancheu."

Notes. The answer to this riddle is sometimes given as water (madzi). •

21. R. Mwana mng'onong'ono pofuna kumtuma ("akuru" understood) ayamba kumpembedza.
A small child, when (the elders) wish to send him they first begin to entreat him.

A. Mtengo wa Minga.
A thorn tree.

Source. Anyanja. Namiwawa Village School, Zomba District.

Notes. The riddle seems to mean that though as trees go the thorn tree is only small, yet when we wish to cut it down and remove it we treat it with respect because of its thorns.

- 22. R. Ndiri ndi agaru ambiri koma apambana kuluma ndi ang'ono.

 I have many dogs, but the small ones excel in biting.
 - A. Namsongole.
 A grass called Namsongole, of which the young shoots
 are very sharp and wound the feet.

Source. Ngoni. Ncheu District. (Also see Mleme, Church of Scotland Chinyanja Reader, page 21.)

23. R. Ndaponya kalata yanga kalekale ku Chiradzulu, koma ansala yace sifika.
 I have posted my letter to Chiradzulu long ago, but the reply does not come.

A. Tsamba la mtengo.
The leaf of a tree.

Source. Anyanja. Namiwawa Village School, Zomba District.

Notes. ansala is the English word "answer."

The idea behind the riddle is that leaves drop from the tree but do not return.

24. R. Wapita wadzola, wapita wadzola.

Going (on the path) he rubs himself, going he rubs himself.

A. Citsa.
A tree stump.

Source. Ngoni. Ncheu District.

Notes. The verb kudzola means to rub oneself with oil, to anoint; but it also bears the secondary meaning to provoke or cause friction. Here a Nyanja informant says the meaning is to fight together, (kuyambana, or kumenyana.)

Wapita and wadzola are both in the perfect tense. This construction is often used where in English we use a participle with the finite verb.

Another rendering of this riddle given to me by Anyanja scholars in Namiwawa Village School, Zomba District, is as follows:—

Mphika watelekedwa pa njira, wapiba wasonkheza, wapita wasonkheza. The pot has been set down well on the path, going he has made a fire, going he has made a fire. The idea behind both riddles is that everyone who walks on the path strikes his foot against the tree stumps.

III. THE ANIMAL WORLD

- (a) Insects.
 - 25. R. Mfumu ya ku mpoto poenda imati, kudzera ine nkwabwino, kupita ine nkwabwino.
 The chief from the north when walking says, where I come from is good, where I go to is good.
 - A. Ncence. The fly.

Source. Nyanja. Zomba District.

Notes. This riddle owes its origin to the house fly's habit of rubbing its front and back legs together alternatively, suggesting to the Bantu a feeling of satisfaction.

- 26. R. Ndinapita kwa bwenzi langa nandiyalira mphasa, ndisana-khale anakhala ena.
 I went to my friend's (house understood), he spread a mat for me, before I sat others sat.
 - A. Ncence. The fly.

Source. Dzunje. Ncheu District. (See No. 20.)

Notes. Another version of this riddle was given to me by the boys in Namiwawa Village School, chiefly Anyanja.

Ndinapita kwa bwenzi andipatsa nsima wayamba kutenga ndi mwana. I went to my friend's, he gave me maize meal porridge, the one starting to take (it) is a child. The answer of course is the same.

27. R. Kanthu konunkiza, ungabisitse kako kakalondola.

Something with a fine scent, though you may hide some small thing of yours it will go and find it out.

A. Ncence.
The fly.

Source. Anyanja. Zomba District. See also Rattray.

Notes. Though Rattray does not suggest it, I suspect that "some small thing of yours" is a euphemistic reference to the use of the bush as a latrine.

28. R. Pamene ndimwalira, bwenzi langa ndinapita nane ku manda.

When I die my friend (will) go with me to the grave.

A. Ncence.
The fly.

Source. Ancheu. Dzunje. Ncheu District.

Notes. Many of the riddles and proverbs one hears do not follow the recognised rules of grammar. Here is a case in point. Ndimwalira (I die) is present tense. Ndinapita (I went) is not only past tense, but also bears the first person singular pronominal prefix ndi connecting the verb with the subject of the sentence, "I." Nane (with me) which follows "I went" is made up of the copula ndi together with the first person singular pronoun ine. Ndinapita seems therefore to be a mistake for lipita to agree with bwenzi langa.

29. R. Ndapita kwina amandiombera manja.

I have gone somewhere, they continually clapped their hands for me.

A. Ciswe.
The white ant.

Source. Ngoni. Ncheu District.

Notes. This riddle refers to the noise the termites make by striking their mandibles on the ground at any disturbance near where they are working.

30. R. Munthu akaponya mubvi wace kumwamba, ndipo pobwera ubwera wopanda bango n'ciani?

A man goes to throw (shoot) his arrow up in the sky, and returning it returns without its shaft. What is it?

A. Inswa.

Termites in the flying stage.

Source. Anyanja. Zomba District. See also Rattray.

Notes. The explanation given is "Pouluka ziuluku ndi mapiko, zigwa zopanda mapiko," i.e. In flying away they have their wings. On coming down they lose their wings.

31. R. Ndinankha kwa bwenzi langa, andiphikira msima ndiwo makala.

I went to my friend, he cooked me maize meal porridge, it was charcoal.

A. Nyamu, mafutefute.

A type of flying ant, black in colour, wasp-like in structure. They bite. *Inswa* leave the ant hill in the evening or night. *Mafutefute* leave and fly about during the day.

Source. T. Price, Esq., Church of Scotland Mission, Zomba.

Notes. Nyamu is the Chinyanja term, and mafutefute is the Chingoni equivalent.

32. R. Mnyamata wanga woyimba lingaka ndi kumbuyo.

My servant who plays the kettle drum with its back.

A. Nkhululu.
A cricket.

Source. Ngoni. Ncheu District.

Notes. The nkhululu is a large cricket, about $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches in length. It has "stiff wings which vibrate, giving a most remarkably shrill loud sound; the animal can sustain the trill for a considerable time." (Scott.)

A variant form of this riddle given me by the scholars of Namiwawa Village School is as follows:—Anyamata a ku Mlanje aimbira ng'oma kumbuyo. The boys from Mlanje (a district in Nyasaland) play the drum behind. The same answer. Lingaka is a small drum slung round the neck and played held against the chest. The ng'oma is a bigger drum which rests on the ground.

33. R. Mubvi wanga ulasa ndi kuthera.

My arrow wounds with its feathered end (lit. with its end).

A. Njuci. A bee.

Source. Nyanja. Zomba District.

34. R. Tenga bango tiolokere nyanja.

Bring a reed that we may cross over the lake.

A. Thantayibwe.
A spider.

Source. Akokola. Zomba District.

Notes. This riddle is a popular one and has a number of variants in different districts.

Werner gives: "Pota cingwe kuti tioloke mtsinje." Make string that we might cross the stream. Scott's version has "nyanja" (lake or broad water) and another name for spider, "tandaudwe."

35. R. Munthu mng'onong'ono satengedwa ndi madzi.

A very small person not washed away by the floods.

A. Kangaude. Spider.

Source. Anyanja. Namiwawa Village School, Zomba District.

(b) Animals

36. R. Cikopa mkati nyama kunja.

The hide in the middle, the meat outside.

A. Nthutumba.

The gizzard of a fowl.

Source. Nyanja. Zomba District.

Notes. The gizzard itself can be eaten but the contents cannot.

I. Schapera has a similar riddle but with another answer.

"Mpolelle: sape le kwa teng, mêke o kwa ntle. Ke
mmopo. Tell me: the bone is inside, the marrow is
outside. It is the mealie."

37. R. Although only an animal in embryo perhaps this is as good a place as any to insert the well known riddle about the egg.

Ndamanga nyumba yanga yopanda khomo. I have built my house without a doorway.

A. Dzira.
An egg.

Source. Ngoni. Ncheu District.

Notes. The Anyanja word for egg is lindanda (pl. mandanda). The Angoni use dzira (pl. mazira). In some districts the word citseko (a door,) is used in this riddle instead of khomo (a doorway).

This riddle is found in Scott's Dictionary; in British Central Africa by A. Werner, and in Some Folk-lore, Stories and Songs in Chinyanja, by R. S. Rattray.

I was interested to notice that the BaKxatla of Bechuanaland have the same riddle.

"Mpoléllé: ntlo e tsweu e e senang mojaké. Ke lee. Tell me: what is the white hut which has no door? It is an egg." See "Kxatla Riddles and their Significance." an article by Mr. I. Schapera, in Banta Studies Vol. VI, September, 1932.

38. R. Ndinapita kwa bwenzi langa, koma moni andipatsila ku
njira.

I went to my friend's but they gave me greating on the

I went to my friend's, but they gave me greeting on the way.

A. Agaru. Dogs.

Source. Anyanja. Namiwawa Village School. Zomba District.

Notes. Moni is now considered good Chinyanja but it probably owes its origin to "Good morning." It is used as a form of greeting by all tribes in S. Nyasaland to the best of my knowledge. The idea behind the riddle is that the dogs always rush out and bark as anyone approaches a village.

39. R. Mwana wa mfumu abvala ndi zokongola, koma sabvuula, angogona nazo.

The child of the chief dresses in handsome (clothes) but he doesn't undress, he sleeps in them.

A. Kamba.
The Tortoise.

Source, Mr. T. Price, Church of Scotland Mission, Zomba.

- 40. R. Ndodo ya kondekonde ifana ndi kondekonde.

 The stick of kondekonde is like kondekonde.
 - A. Cifundu ca njoka.

 The shed skin of a snake.

Source. Anyanja. Namiwawa Village School, Zomba.

Notes. One of the characteristics of Bantu riddles is the occurrence of meaningless or irrelevant words or phrases, meant merely to mystify those who attempt to solve the riddles.¹

The terms used for this practice in Chinyanja are kungopipiritsa, and kungododometsa, i.e. merely to speak by allusions, metaphorically, or euphemistically; and to confuse, or speak wide of the mark. The word kondekonde used in the above riddle is a case in point.

Of the shed skin of a snake the Angoni use the word Cifundu from the verb kufundula to shed, whilst the Anyanja use suwi from the verb kusuwa, having the same meaning.

- 41. R. Pa mudzi pathu pali mwana aliza mafumu.

 At our village there is a child who causes the chiefs to cry out.
 - A. Njoka.
 A snake.

Source. Anyanja. Namiwawa Village School, Zomba District.

Notes. Aliza is a shortened form of aliritsa, to cause to cry, from the verb-stem lira, to cry.

IV. CROPS AND OTHER FOODS

- 42. R. Ndiri ndi anyamata anga, onse abvala a khaki okha. I have my servants, all of them dress in khaki only.
 - A. Cimanga. Maize.

Source. Nyanja. Zomba District.

- 43. R. Onse a ndebvu okha.

 All of them are bearded.
 - A. Zimanga. Maize.

Source. Nyanja. Zomba District.

Notes. In No. 42 the sing. (cimanga) is used. In this riddle the plur. (zimanga) is used.

¹ See Smith and Dale. The Ila-Speaking Peoples of Northern Rhodesia. 1920. Vol. II. p. 324. Also Tylor, Primitive Culture, Fifth Edition, June 1929, Vol. I. p. 91.

44. R. Alira atafa.

They cry when they are dead.

A. Nandolo kapena nzama.

Nandolo or nzama beans. (Pigeon pea or ground bean.)

Source. Nyanja. Zomba District.

Notes. The nandolo and nzama beans are left in the garden until dry. When dry they rattle. The nandolo grow in a long pod on a bush which grows six to eight feet high. The nzama is a ground nut similar to the more common pea nut.

- 45. R. M'nyumba ya mai alipo munthu wa alamba ambiri.

 In the house of (my) mother there is a person of many belts.
 - A. Mtolo wa nzama.
 A bundle of nzama beans.

Source. Not noted.

Notes. When the *nzama* are harvested they are stored in a bundle of grass which is tied up with a number of bark strings.

- 46. R. Njira ya ku Manga kuterera.

 The road to Manga is slippery.
 - A. Nkhwanje. Nkhwanje grain.

Source. Anyanja. Namiwawa Village School. Zomba District.

Notes. "Manga is a place (in Portuguese East Africa?) where the Ayao went long ago to buy cloth," says one informant. Saying "ku Manga" is just to confuse. Any other place would do as well. Nkhwanje is not to be found in any Chinyanja or Ciyao dictionary. My informant tells me that it is a seed used by the Alomwe long ago. Nowadays it is never seen. It is a small round seed red in colour. Another informant says it is "monga maere" (like the maere seed, which is a kind of spelt.)

Perhaps the idea is that the seeds are round and small and if trodden on act as ball bearings,

- 47. R. Ngakhale Mzungu mkukalemekeza.

 Even the European respects it (or gives it honour.)
 - A. Ntedza. (timagwira ndi manja awiri.)

 A pea nut. (We always grip it with both hands.)

Source. Ngoni. Ncheu District.

Notes. Rattray has "Kanthu kokalemekeza, kolira kukagwira ndi manja awiri" which he translates, "A small important thing which when you wish it you take with both hands." It is considered bad manners to take anything with one hand. If a person is receiving some little thing he must extend his right hand and the fingers of the left hand are placed under the right wrist. In breaking open the shell of the pea nut we use both hands. The stress on the word even in the riddle indicates the Bantu opinion of the manners of the average European!

48. R. Kanyama kapansi kanona kadyanji?

How does the little fat animal under the ground eat?

A. Ntedza.

A pea nut.

Source. Ngoni. Ncheu District.

49. R. Tsegula bokosi uone ana a Azungu.

Open the box that you may see the European children.

A. Ntedza.
Pea nuts.

Source. Anyanja. Namiwawa Village School, Zomba District.

Notes. Bokosi is the English word box.

The Anyanja usually refer to themselves in contradistinction to other races as anthu akuda, i.e. black people. Europeans are usually called Azungu, but occasionally one hears "anthu ofiira," (i.e. the red peoples,) hence this riddle.

A similar riddle is popular in Uganda.

"Abajungu bashwerire ensi." Foreigners that are covered all over. "Ebinyobwa." Pea nuts, for pea nuts are ground nuts and they are covered over.

50. R. Anthu amadula mitu, dzifuwa nasiya.

People cut off the heads, and leave the chests.

A. Mawere.
A small grain, a kind of spelt.

¹ See Africa Answers Back, by H. H. Prince Akiki K. Nyabongo, Part III, chap. 5, p. 150. He also has:— My father's chickens laid their eggs under the leaves. Answer. Peanuts, for they grow under the ground beneath their own leaves.

Source. Ngoni. Ncheu District.

Notes. Mawere is Chingoni. The Anyanja say maere. In harvesting the maere a knife is used and the grain, which grows in a clump of three, four, or six fingers on the top of a fairly long stalk, is cut off, leaving the stalk standing.

51. R. Dzibonga m'dambo.

Hunting sticks in the marshy plain.

A. Mawere.
A small grain, a kind of spelt.

Source. Ngoni. Ncheu District.

Notes. The cibonga (pl. zibonga, Chinyanja; dzibonga, Chingeni) is a hunting stick with a large round head like a knob-kerry.

The mawere likes the clavey soil, and the moisture found

The mawere likes the clayey soil, and the moisture found in the treeless hollows called madambo.

52. R. M'nyumba mwa amai anamwali awerama.

In the house of (my) mother maidens bow down.

A. Mapira.
Sorghum or millet.

Source. Anyanja. Namiwawa Village School, Zomba District.

Notes. If m'nyumba is correct this will refer to the practice of storing the mapira on a raised platform above the kitchen fire. The name for this platform is nsanja from the verb kusanjika, to put upon. It may be however that m'nyumba is a mistake for m'munda—in the garden, when the riddle would refer to the way in which the head of the mapira hangs down as the grain gets heavier.

53. R. Ndazika mubvi pansi, pozula ndapeza ili yambiri.

I have driven an arrow into the ground, pulling (it) up I have found there are many.

A. Cinangwa. Cassava.

Source. Anyanja. Namiwawa Village School, Zomba District.

Notes. In planting cassava large mounds are prepared, and shoots from old plants are taken and merely pushed into the ground.

Ndiri ndi anyamata ambiri, ali ndi mphasa zambiri koma 54. R. agona pa dothe. I have many attendants, they have many sleeping mats but they sleep on the ground.

Maungu. A. Pumpkins.

Source. Nyanja. Zomba District.

The leaves of the pumpkin are likened to sleeping mats. The pumpkins are never found resting on the leaves but always on the earth. A variant form is: "Ndasoka mphasa zanga zambiri koma mwini wace ndigona pa dothe." I have woven my many mats but I myself sleep on the ground.

Ndamanga nyumba ya mzati umodzi. 55. R. I have built a house with one centre post.

Boa. Α. Mushroom.

Source. Anyanja and Angoni, in slightly different forms. Zomba District.

Notes. Mzati is the central post of a hut. "Mzati ucirikira cindu," the mzati supports the roof. Rattray has this form of the riddle. Others use the words nsuluti (an upright pillar) or nsici (a post).

Boa is a generic term used for all kinds of edible fungi. The verb kuboola means to pierce, to break through, and boa probably comes from this root.

This riddle is also found amongst the Bakxatla of Bechuanaland in another form:

"Mpoléllê: kxaka ya se êma ka ukoto, serope ke ntsêtsênênê. Ke leboa." Tell me: the guinea fowl that stands on one leg, its thigh is very tasty. It is the edible mushroom.1 In Uganda the following form is used: "Obunagenzere Buganda, bakampa enkoko yokuguru kumu." I went to Buganda and people gave me a one-legged chicken to eat. What is it? Mushrooms which have only one stalk on which to stand.2

p. 150,

Kxatla Riddles and Their Significance," by I. Schapera, an article in Bantu Studies, Vol. VI, Sept. 1932, pp. 215-231.
 Africa Answers Back, by H. H. Prince Akiki K. Nyabongo, Part III, Chap. 5,

56. R. Ndasema mpini wanga, koma ndaocera makasu makumi anai.

I have shaped my hoe handle, but I have burnt into it forty hoes.

A. Ntoci.
Bananas.

Source. Nyanja. Zomba District.

Notes. Ndaocera="I have burnt for," refers to the way in which the hoes are inserted into the handles. The metal shaft is made red hot and gradually burnt into the wood handle.

57. R. Ndiri ndi mbuzi yanga ikabala kholo ndi kumasa.

I have a goat of mine, when she bears young she (lit. the parent) is wont to die.

A. Ntoci.
Banana tree.

Source. Mr. T. Price, Church of Scotland Mission, Zomba.

Notes. After bearing fruit the parent tree dies, and is replaced by young shoots.

58. R. Mandota abvalira ku nkhondo.

The elders have put on their war paint (lit. have dressed for the war.)

A. Tsobola. Chillies.

Source. Ngoni. Ncheu District.

Notes. Mandota is not in any Chinyanja or Ciyao dictionary, but my informants tell me it means "anthu aakuru," i.e. the big people, or the elders. I think the riddle refers to the green leaves of the chilli being brightened by the red pods. There might also be a reference to the hot taste of the chilli.

59. R. Msima yanga ndapika ku Mangoni, yafika kuno ndi moto.

I have cooked my porridge at Angoniland, it has arrived here still hot (lit. with fire).

A. Sabola. Chillies.

Source. Nyanja. Zomba District.

Notes. Tsobola is Chingoni, sabola is the term used by Anyanja.

- 60. R. Ndapha nyama, pamene ndasenda ndatenga cikopa ndataya.

 Ndatenga matumba ndataya, ndipo ndadya minofu yokha.

 I have killed game, when I have skinned it, I have taken the skin and thrown it away. I have taken the entrails and thrown them away, and I have eaten only the flesh.
 - A. Papaya. Sitidya kungu ndi nthanga.

 The Pawpaw. We do not eat the skin and the seeds.

Source. Ngoni. Ncheu District.

- 61. R. Cimenye cikupatse kudya.
 Hit it, it will give you food.
 - A. Dambe.

 The fruit of the baobab tree.

Source. Ngoni. Ncheu District.

Notes. Dambe (pl. malambe) is the fruit of the baobab, which itself is called nlambe. The skin of the fruit is very tough and must be split to get at the fruit. Inside is a whitish substance which when dried is mixed with millet flour to make a more palatable porridge.

- 62. R. Nkhalamba ya imvi m'mimba.

 An old person with grey hair in the stomach.
 - A. Dambe.
 The fruit of the baobab tree.

Source. Anyanja. Namiwawa Village School, Zomba District.

Notes. See above.

Imvi or imbvi means white or grey hair.

- 63. R. Pa mudzi pathu ali a imvi okhaokha.

 At our village there are white hairs only.
 - A. Cimera.
 Sprouting grain.

Source. Anyanja. Namiwawa Village School, Zomba District.

Notes. "In fermenting moa, Native beer, the grain is allowed to sprout, then beaten, then pounded into flour, mixed with other granules, pounded together and put into the pala, or gruel, which has been prepared for the beer" (Scott.)

A variant form is as follows:—M'nyumba mwa amai muli nkhalamba. In the house of mother there is an old person (again referring to the white hair.)

64. R. Ndatungira madzi mu ndodo.

I have drawn water from a walking stick.

A. Msinde.

Sugar cane.

Source. Anyanja. Namiwawa Village School, Zomba District.

65. R. Kagomo kokwera ndi ana omwe.

A little hill which even the children can climb.

A. Nsima.

Maize meal porridge.

Source. Ngoni. Gowa School, Ncheu District.

Notes. The mother piles up the *nsima* in a mound above the top of the porridge plate.

66. R. Kasikiti si mbeu.

Kasikiti is not a plant.

A. Mcere. Salt.

Source. Nyanja. Zomba District.

Notes. Kasikiti or kansikiti as some say, is not to be found in any Chinyanja or Chiyao dictionary. Everyone seems to know the riddle and its answer, but no one knows the meaning of kasikiti. See note on No. 40.

V. THE HUMAN BODY AND ITS FUNCTIONS

67. R. Ndalima munda wanga, dzinthu m'manja.

I have hoed my garden, the produce (is) in the hands.

A. Tsitsi.

Hair. (Because the hair shaved or cut from the head can be held in the hand.)

Source. Ngoni. Dzunje, Ncheu District.

Notes. Dzinthu is the pl. of cinthu (a thing). Angoni say dzinthu where the Anyanja say zinthu. It is also used, usually in the plural, for maize, and grain of all kinds. When so used dzinthu is preferred to zinthu.

Variant forms are as follows:-

(1) Ndiri ndi munda waukuru, ndipo pakukolola cimanga ndinakololera m'manja. I have a large garden, and when I reaped maize I reaped in (my) hands.

- (2) Munthu mmodzi, anthu ambiri.
 One person, many persons.
- (3) See also, Dale and Smith, The Ila-speaking Peoples, Riddle No. 45, p. 329, Vol. II.
- 68. R. Mtengo adula lero, m'mawa mwace uyamba kupuka.

 They cut a tree today, the following morning it begins to sprout.
 - A. Tsitsi.
 The hair.

Source. Rattray.

- 69. R. M'nyumba mwa amai muli mdalama. In my mother's house there is money.
 - A. Dazi.
 Baldness.

Source. Not noted. It is found in Scott's Dictionary.

Notes. Though well known, no one seems to understand this riddle. They say it is just a ludicrous way of saying, "My mother is bald,"

- 70. R. Ayenda awiri awiri.

 They walk two by two.
 - A. Maso. The eyes.

Source. Nyanja. Zomba District.

- 71. R. Nkhanga ziwiri zaoloka mapiri.
 Two guinea fowl cross over the hills.
 - A. Maso.
 The eyes.

Source. Mr. T. Price, Church of Scotland Mission, Zomba.

- 72. R. Nkhwangwa yanga mtemera patari.

 My axe cuts deep at a great distance.
 - A. Maso.
 The eyes.

Source. Angoni. Ncheu District.

Notes. A number of people have given me the riddle in this form, but *mtemera* seems to be a mistake for *itemera*, or *n'temera*.

Another riddle stresses the same point. Ndanyamuka ndi mwana kupita ku Zomba, koma wakayamba kufika ku Zomba ndi mwana.

I set out with a child to go to Zomba, but the one to arrive first at Zomba was the child. Maso—aona kutari. The eyes—they see far. Smith and Dale in The Ilaspeaking Peoples have: Ndawala mwitala. Something I threw over to the other side of the river. Menso. Eyes. I. Schapera not only has two very similar riddles but also quotes a similar Xhosa riddle cited by R. Godfrey in 'Kaffir Riddles,' Blythswood Review, 1927.

- 73. R. Nkhuku yatakataka pa mazira.

 The fowl is "fidgety" on the eggs.
 - A. Maso. The eyes.

Source. Ngoni or Ancheu. Dzunje, Ncheu District.

Notes. This riddle refers of course to the eyelids as well as the eyes.

- 74. R. Diwa la khalango kugwaigwa.

 The falling trap (for mice or birds) of the thicket is continually falling.
 - A. Cikope.

 The eyelids.

Source. Ngoni. Ncheu District.

Notes. Khalango. I am taking it for granted that this should be nkalango (a thicket or group of trees). Khalango means reproof, and doesn't seem to make sense here.

A variant reading is: Diwa lagwa kawiri-kawiri lero lokhalokha n'ciani? The trap has fallen over and over again this day alone. What is it?

- 75. R. Njira ziwiri zidzera m'cikanga.
 Two roads lead out of the thicket.
 - A. Mphuno.

 The nose (the ways being the nostrils.)

Source. Nyanja. Zomba District.

76. R. Ana awiri ali mbali mwa phiri koma saonana.

Two children are on the hillside but they do not see each other.

A. Mapilikaniro.
The ears.

Source. Nyanja. Zomba District.

Notes. The Anyanja use pilikaniro (pl. mapilikaniro) for ear, whereas the Angoni use khutu (pkl. makutu.)

Dale and Smith have a similar riddle from the Ba-Ila. "Bachungwe bakala isamo diomwi. The fish-eagles that sit on one tree. Matwi. The ears." Another Chinyanja variant is: Ananjiwa azungulira phili, koma sakomana. The doves go round about the hill but they don't meet.

Chingoni variants are: Mikango iwiri yapanira culu. Two lions have gripped the ant heap. Mikango iwiri inakwera gomo. Two lions climbed the hill. Here the Angoni word gomo is used in place of the Chinyanja phiri for hill.

The following riddle is found in Hausa Sayings and Folk Lore by R. Fletcher. "Da baba da inna sun gewoye ba su hadda ba. The father and mother went round but did not meet."

77. R. Nsupa ya mwana kunona.

The oil bottle of the child is fat (i.e. never empty.)

A. Mphuno. The nose.

Source. Ngoni or Ancheu. Dzunje, Ncheu District.

Note. To anyone acquainted with Bantu children this riddle will need no explanation!

78. R. Tsiko! Tsiko! waona ku phompho. Kweru!

Coming down! down! it has seen the precipice. Up it goes!

A. Mamina.

Mucus of the nose.

Ngoni. Ncheu District.

Notes. The precipice is, of course, the mouth.

 R. Nkhuku yanga yaikira pa minga. My hen has laid in the thorns. A. Lilime, pakamwa ndi nano.

The tongue, the mouth and the teeth.

Source. Ngoni. Dzunje, Ncheu District.

Notes. There are many variants of this riddle, one of which is as follows:—Nkhuku yanga yaikuru pa kankhande, sindikutha kuitsitsa. My big hen in the kankhande thorn, I am unable to get it down. Lilime pakati pa mano. The tongue in the midst of the teeth. Another variant substitutes nanjiwa (dove) for nkhuku (fowl.)

Kankhande is a kind of thorn bush, with large bent thorns, and yellow fruit with one large stone. The fruit is eaten.

I. Schapera in "Kxatla Riddles and their Significance" has a similar riddle:—

Mpoléllé: Kxomo tse thswaana tse di p66 khunou. Ke leleme le mên6. Tell me: the white cows with a red bull. It is the tongue and the teeth. Dr. Schapera also quotes a similar riddle from the South Sotho (recorded by W. A. Norton and N. Velaphe.)

In Africa Answers Back A. K. Nyabongo gives, Our master sleeps behind the horns, What is it? Our tongue behind the teeth.

- 80 R. Pali munthu ndi mnzace, omverana bwino.

 There is a man and his fellow-man who obey each other well.
 - A. Dzanja ndi pakamwa. Pakunena ndakwana dzanja lingoleka wosampatsa mnzace ai.
 The hand and the mouth. When it says "I have had enough" the hand just ceases, he does not give to his friend.

Source. Ngoni. Dzunje. Ncheu District.

- 81. R. Kanthu kolondola kokha, sikaphonyai, kungakhale mdima n'ciani?

 Something which finds its way by itself, it doesn't go wide of the mark even though it is dark. What is it?
 - A. Dzanja. Cifukwa siiwala pa kamwa.

 The hand. Because it does not forget the mouth.

Source. Rattray.

- 82. R. Anyamata obvala kumodzi.

 Boys who dress on one side.
 - A. Dzikadabo.

 The finger (or toe) nails.

Source. Ngoni. Ncheu District.

Notes. I. Schapera records a similar riddle of the BaKxatla. "Mpoléllé: basimane ba ba lesome ba ba kuane di ka kwa moraxô. Ke dinala. Tell me: ten boys who have hats at the back. It is the nails (of the fingers.)"

- 83. R. Ndazika ciciri canga pakati pa nyanja.

 I have driven my peg in the middle of the lake.
 - A. Mcombo wa munthu.

 The navel of a person.

Source. Anyanja. Namiwawa Village School, Zomba District.

Notes. The comparison of the navel with a peg is more apposite when one remembers that the majority of Bantu children have protruding navels.

- 84. R. Kukwera akwera ndi mgwalangwa, potsika atsika ndi mgwalangwa.

 Coming up they come up with mgwalangwa, coming down they come down with mgwalangwa.
 - A. Miyendo. The legs.

Source. Angoni. Gowa School, Ncheu District.

Notes. My informants do not understand this riddle. Unfortunately I omitted to ask the meaning at the time I received it.

Mgwalangwa is the fan palm. It has a long stalk with feathery fan shaped leaves at the top. It may be that the fan-shaped leaves are likened to feet.

- 85. R. Ana awiri kukanganira ufuma.

 Two children dispute the leadership.
 - A. Dzitende. The heels.

Source. Nyanja who was in school in Angoniland. The use of dzitende instead of the Chinyanja zitende suggests that it is a Chingoni riddle.

Notes. Another form of this riddle is as follows:—

Tsogola, nakana. Get on! it refuses!

Dale and Smith have: "Baambana bami. The chiefs are having a dispute. Matende. The feet."

86. R. Silitha.

Never ending.

A. Tulo. Sleep.

Source. Nyanja. Zomba District.

87. R. Ndamanga nsima yanga m'fukusi, kupita nayo ku Mangoni ndabwera nayo.

I have tied up my maize meal porridge in a parcel to go to Angoniland, I have returned with it.

A. Tulo. Sleep.

Source. Nyanja. Zomba District.

Notes. The meaning of a number of the riddles about sleep seems obscure. Here it may be dreaming is meant.

88. R. Thumba la pido satha ufa.

The mouse-skin bag doesn't finish the flour.

A. Tulo. Sleep.

Source. Ngoni or Ancheu. Dzunje, Ncheu District.

Notes. Pido is a very small species of mouse.

Thumba la pido is a bag made out of the pido's skin.

Sata should, I think, be silitha to agree with thumba.

The meaning seems to be that however often one sleeps one can always sleep again.

I. Schapera records a similar riddle of the BaKxatla:—

"Mpoléllé: pitsani ennye e e ka sekang ya fetswa ke batho ba bothle. Ke borôkô. Tell me: the small pot which

cannot be exhausted by all the people. It is sleep.

89. R. Misale ya cigona kukolera.

Dry millet stalks are (still) sweet.

A. Tulo. Sleep.

Source. Ngoni. Gowa School, Ncheu District.

Notes. This might mean that although we enjoyed sleep last year we still find it sweet.

Misale ya cigona are the last year's stalks of millet left. lying in the garden.

- 90. R. Ndinapita ku Manguru ndabwera.

 I went to Anguru land, I have returned.
 - A. Kulota.
 A dream.

Source. Nyanja. Zomba District.

- 91. R. Ku Zomba ku Halale cafika kale.

 To Zomba (even) to Salisbury it arrived long go (or: it has arrived already).
 - A. Malingiliro a munthu.

 The thoughts (or imagination) of a person.

Source. Angoni. Gowa School, Ncheu District.

Notes. Halale is the name boys who have travelled give to Salisbury and to Southern Rhodesia generally; I believe because of a hill of that name near Salisbury.

Rattray records a similar riddle:

Kungatarikitsa, lero lomwe ukafika, n'ciani. However far away it is, this very day it reaches here. What is it? Mtima. Thought (lit. the heart.)

- 92. R. Kaphilijo, madzi m'tsinde, ndi ciani?

 A little hill standing erect, water at the foot. What is it?
 - A. Busu ndi nkhodzo. Faeces and urine.

Source. Ancheu. Dzunje, Ncheu District.

Notes. Kaphilijo is a shortened form of kaphili njo!

VI. DOMESTIC LIFE

93. R. Akumawa ndi akumadzulo, akumwera ndi akumpoto amwa pa citsime cimodzi.

From the East and from the West, from the South and from the North, they drink at the same spring.

A. Nyumba.
A house.

Source. Lomwe. Mlanje District.

Notes. The idea is that the four walls are all connected with the centre post (nsuluti) by the rafters or thin radial bamboos (maphaso).

94. R. Nzungulu zamwera pamodzi.
The Bronze Manikins drink together.

A. Paso.
A rafter, or radial bamboo.

Source. Ancheu. Dzunje, Ncheu District.

Notes. This riddle is merely another way of expressing the thought contained in No. 93.

The nzungulu birds are very common in Nyasaland, and go about in small flocks. They belong to the Weaver-finch family, sub-family Waxbills. See *The Birds of Nyasaland* by C. F. Belcher.

95. R. Zungulira uko ndikupatse mcele m'kambale.

Go round there and I will give you salt in a small dish.

A. Mkazi. A woman.

Source. Angoni. Gowa School, Ncheu District.

Notes. According to my informants "the man goes one way, and the woman another, they meet and commit adultery." Euphemistically—she gives him salt in a small dish.

96. R. Nyama zipezana pa madzi.

The animals meet each other at the water.

A. Anthu. People.

Source. Rattray.

Notes. Where there is a common place for drawing water, there the people meet. My informants consider this to be rather a poor riddle. I insert it here because Dr. Schapera gives a similar one current among the BaKxatla: "Mpolelle: thsoswane tee, engwe tee, tsa rakanna monyelenyeleng. Ke batho xe ba ya nokeng. Tell me: an insect ran, another one ran, they met at the hole. It is the people when they go to fetch water."

97. R. Kuli mkuru mmodzi poturuka nyumba osalephera kuyimbira manja.

There is one elder who when leaving the house, people do not fail to clap hands for him.

A. Mpulusa. Ashes.

Source. Nyanja. Zomba District.

Notes. It is a mark of respect to clap hands when any important person passes by or leaves your company. After throwing away the ashes from the fire one never fails to clap one's hands to rid them from the dust.

98. R. Kamubvi kateputepu kadabaya njobvu.

The small slender arrow killed the elephant.

A. Utsi. Smoke.

Source. Ngoni. Gowa School, Ncheu District.

Notes. Kateputepu means flexible, flimsy, or thin. The idea is that smoke gets in your eyes however big and strong you are. Some of my informants prefer "the sting of a bee" to "smoke" as the answer to this riddle.

The Angoni use utsi where the Anyanja use uisi or wisi, which is similar to the Yao word for smoke, which is liosi.

99. R. Uta wanga wapsya mpambala, nsinga yatsala.

My bow is burnt as to the wood part, the bow-string is left.

A. Njira. A path.

Source. Nyanja. Zomba District. Also in "Mleme," Church of Scotland Chinyanja Reader.

Notes. When the bush is burnt before the rains the road remains as before.

There are a number of variants. Here are two of them.

- (1) Nyumba yapsya, watsala mtanda wokha.

 The house is burnt, leaving only the cross beam.
- (2) Nsaru yanga yapsya, yatsala msoko wokha.

 My cloth is burnt, leaving only the hem.

 Dale and Smith have a similar riddle from the Ba-Ila:

Ndatenta isokwe mubalo washala. I burnt the veld and the crooked stick remained.

Answer. Ninzhila. It's a road.

100, R. Mcira wa mwiri wosatheka kutafuna.

The tale of the wild cat cannot be chewed up.

A. Njira. A path.

Source. Mr. T. Price, Church of Scotland Mission, Zomba.

Notes. This riddle is obscure, but it seems to mean that however far you go there is always some path left.

101. R. Mphango wanga utalitali. My long belt.

A. Mseu kapena njira.
A road or a path.

Source. Ngoni or Ancheu. Dzunje, Ncheu District.

102. R. Samangika.

They are not bound.

A. Mau. Words.

Source. Nyanja. Zomba District.

VII. UTENSILS AND OTHER OBJECTS

103. R. Anthu azungulira, ndi mfumu yao ali m'kati.

The people are round about, and their chief is in the middle.

A. Mafuwa.

The cooking stones.

Source. Nyanja. Zomba District.

Notes. This riddle has a number of variants. Here are a few.

- (1) The same riddle but with the following answer... Anthu pozungulira moto. People round a fire. Here the people are actually people, but in the former riddle the people are the three stones put round the fire on which to rest the cooking pots. (See Werner, British Central Africa.)
- (2) Mafumu atatu salekana. Three chiefs do not leave each other (i.e. the cooking stones).

- (3) Mudzi umodzi, mafumu atatu. One village, three chiefs (i.e. the fire is the village, the cooking pots the chiefs.)
 All these were given to me by Anyanja.
- 104. R. Ndapita kwa bwenzi langa, ndisanafika ku mudzi ana a akazi anandisuzumira.

 I went to my friend's, before I arrived at the village girls peeped out at me.
 - A. Minsi.
 Pounding sticks. (Pestles).

Source. Ngoni. Dzunje, Ncheu District.

Notes. The Angoni build fences (mpanda) of long grass (tsekera) round their houses. In this court yard (bwalo) the women do their pounding. Anyone approaching sees the tops of the pounding sticks going up and down above the fence as the women pound their maize.

- 105. R. Kweru tsiku, kweru tsiku, n'ciani?
 Up down, up down, what is it?
 - A. Munsi.
 A pestle.

Source. Rattray.

- 106. R. Amandikwezakweza.

 They are continually lifting me up.
 - A. Munsi.
 A pestle.

Source. Angoni. Gowa School, Ncheu District.

- 107. R. Ng'ombe za mandala zoyera mphuno.

 The cattle of Mr. Moir have white noses.
 - A. Minsi. Pestles.

Source. Angoni. Gowa School, Ncheu District.

Notes. Mandala was the Native name of Mr. John Moir, one of the two brothers Moir, the founders of African Lakes Corporation, Nyasaland's leading trading firm. He was called Mandala because of the reflection caused by the spectacles he wore. The white floury ends of the pounding sticks are likened to the white noses of cattle (presumably imported first by Mr. Moir.)

108. R. Mai mbu, mwana mbu.

Mother white, child white.

A. Mphero.
A grinding stone.

Source. Angoni or Ancheu, Dzunje, Ncheu District.

Notes. Another Ngoni gave the answer as "Mpherondimwaphelo." The grinding stone and the child of the grinding stone. The lower stone which is placed on the verandah (khonde) of the house, is a large stone, and is called mphero. The upper stone which is much smaller is grasped in the hands by the women, who kneel behind the mphero. This smaller stone is called mwana wa mphero, the child of the mphero. By contraction it becomes mwaphero. Note that "l" and "r" are interchangeable.

109. R. Mwana wamenya wamkuru.

The child has struck the elder.

A. Mwanamphero.

The upper grinding stone.

Source. Anyanja. Namiwawa Village School, Zomba District.

110. R. Mfumu sizenga milandu palibe mwana.

The chief does not try cases without a child (i.e. an assistant.)

A. Mphero.

The lower grinding stone.

Source. Angoni. Gowa School, Ncheu District.

111. R. Kanthu kosaopa madzi angawawe.A little thing which does not fear though the water hurts,

A. Ndiwo nthiko.

It is a porridge stick.

Source. Ngoni. Ncheu District.

Notes. Rattray has a more interesting variant of this riddle. "Anthu onse nkhondo inicimwa, kanthu kamodzi koputaputa, kakaiponya, n'ciani?" The war baffled everybody, one little provoking thing fights it (or wins it). The idea is that though the porridge is boiling they stir it with the porridge stick.

112. R. Pali anthu atatu amene akonda ife koposa.

There are three people who love us above measure.

A. Ntondo, nthalo, madzi.

The grain mortar, the porridge pot, and water.

Source. Akokola. Zomba District.

Notes. To be really satisfying the answer should be "the grain mortar, the porridge pot, and the water pot" (ntsuko). I have read this riddle to quite a number of older people and supplied the first two words of the answer and they have invariably supplied ntsuko as the third word.

113. R. Kwezani ulalo mankhanamba akwere.

Raise the bridge that Mankhanamba might sit on it.

A. Nthalo.
A cooking pot.

Source. Anyanja. Namiwawa Village School, Zomba District.

Notes. Mankhanamba is a chief in the Macemba (Mlanje)
District. The riddle means, Arrange the cooking stones
and put the pot on the fire—as a chief sits on a stool and
not on the floor like common people.

114. R. Ndapeza nkalamba nameta maudzi ndi kumimba, nafulila nyumba'yo nafulila ndi kumbuyo.

I have found an old person who cuts grass with her stomach, and who thatches the house, she thatches with her buttocks.

A. Cipande.
A porridge spoon.

Source. Nyanja. Zomba District.

Notes. With the inside (mimba) of the porridge spoon one takes the porridge from the porridge pot (nameta maudzu), and smooths it over as it is piled up in the porridge basket (nsengwa) with the back of the spoon (nafulira ndi kumbuyo). See also Rattray for the same riddle slightly differently worded.

115. R. Akulu ali kumenyana, waalekanitsa ndi mwana.

The elders are fighting each other, the one to separate them is the child.

A, Cipande.
A porridge spoon.

Source. Anyanja. Namiwawa Village School, Zomba District.

Notes. The akuru (elders) are the porridge pot and the porridge stick. The stirring of the porridge whilst cooking is likened to a quarrel. When the porridge is cooked the fight stops and the porridge is taken out with the porridge spoon. It is probably often true in actuality that the coming of the food stops the elders quarrelling!

116. R. Nkalamba kuota moto ndi kumbuyo.

An old person warms himself at the fire with his back (to it understood).

A. Nsanja.

The platform for storing grain.

Source. Angoni or Ancheu, Dzunje, Ncheu District.

Notes. See notes on Riddle No. 52. Rattray also records this riddle.

117. R. Andinyamulitsa katundu kalekale koma sanditula.

They placed a load on me long ago but they don't take it off.

A. Tsanje.
A platform for storing grain.

Source. Anyanja. Namiwawa Village School, Zomba District.

Notes. See above. Nsanje is the more usual spelling.

118. R. Anthu awiri asenza cinthu cacikuru n'ciani?

Two people lift a big thing. What is it?

A. Mitanda iwiri isenza nkokwe.

Two beams lift the grain store.

Source. Rattray.

Notes. Large stones are placed at the four corners of a square and two cross beams placed in a parallel position. On these beams the grain store is built.

119. R. Njoka zalowa m'tsala.

Snakes have entered into the old garden.

A. Mphasa.
A sleeping mat.

Source. Ngoni. Blantyre District.

Notes. In making sleeping mats bango reeds are cut into strips about in wide and 6 feet long. Through these strings are threaded at intervals of about 6 in. throughout their length. The strings are likened to snakes. The comparison between the reeds and the old garden is difficult to see.

120. R. Nambina watha anthu kuciwambo.

Nambina has finished the people at Dar-es-salaam.

A. Mono.
A fish trap.

Source. Anyanja. Namiwawa Village School, Zomba District.

Notes. Nambina. This name is given to people with curved backs, whose buttocks protrude more than usual. The mono fish baskets are made with a decided curve in the middle.

Kuciwambo is a vague term, referring to the coast line round about Dar-es-salaam where the Ayao, who were great travellers, used to go to exchange their ivory, etc., for cloth. The idea is that the fish trap has killed (finished) all the fish in the Indian Ocean.

121. R. Kanthu kopanda nkwaso n'ciani?

A little thing without a spoor, what is it?

A. Mubvi.
An arrow.

Source. Rattray.

122. R. Ndinanka ku madzi, ndapeza anamwali atawerama.

I went to the water, I found maidens who had bowed down.

A. Ndinapita ku madzi ndapeza misampha.

I went to the water and found traps.

Source. Ngoni. Ncheu District.

Notes. To make these traps (misampha) supple saplings are bent over and attached to a running noose, which is held by a small catch. The noose catches the leg of the game.

123. R. Pita uko tikomane.

Go there, we shall meet.

A. Lamba.
A belt.

Source. Nyanja. Zomba District.

Notes. See *Mleme* Church of Scotland Chinyanja Reader, p. 22, for the same riddle.

Rattray has a similar one: "Pita uku, nanenso, ndipite uko tikomane. Mkuzi." Go here (or, this way) I also, I will go there (or, that way) we will meet. Answer. A belt of cloth, string or hide used by women to hold up the loin cloth. Lamba is the term used for a man's belt. Mkuzi for a woman's belt.



SOME OF THE COMMONEST GAMES PLAYED BY THE SOTHO PEOPLE OF NORTHERN TRANSVAAL

H. J. VAN ZYL

In Native primitive life the speed and haste of civilization are regarded with disapproval because they are real disturbers of a gentle peace which has been enjoyed—or is supposed to have been enjoyed—for so many years. Time has always been something of minor importance to Natives. Many proverbial and other expressions of their language and many rules of behaviour betray the natural aversion to speed and impetuosity and the Native's preference to slow, dignified and leisured movements.

Hamba kahle (in Sepedi: sepela xabotse) with its similar forms in the connected Southern Bantu languages, means: have a good trip and literally: walk well. It also means: walk slowly. Well and slow are equivalents. In Shangaan sihatla has a distinct pejorative meaning, such as hasty in English. A Shangaan proverb says: It is better to walk slowly than to run. It is most impolite to walk briskly up to somebody. The extreme slowness with which certain women will approach a superior is the exact measure of the respect they intend to show.

If leisure is thus considered not only as the greatest amenity but also as a necessity of life, the sine qua non of a decent human existence, it is clear that there will be plenty of time for games. And games, indeed interesting and varied, did abound in Native primitive life. We may regret the fact that these games—as well as many other precious customs—are only kept up by those who live in the most remote villages.

Let us consider a few typical sitdown games played by all the following Northern Sotho tribes: baTlôkwa, baKoni, baMoletši, baMatlala, baMamabolo, baXananwa and baBirwa. Our informants of both the Balobedu and Transvaal Matêbêlê state that only Nos. 1, 2, and 3 are known to them. BaMolepo seem to know all excepting No. 1.

1. KHUPYE

The name is derived from the verb Xo khuparêtša which means to clench the fist and the nearest meaning we can give to khupye, is something hidden in a clenched fist.

Khupye is a game played by both boys and girls and they play it together or separately. It has to be played in the evening and never until after the evening meal. For this there are two reasons, viz., (i) It is believed that a game of this kind causes the children to neglect their work and therefore they have to wait till all the work of the day is done. By this we see that it is actually prohibited to play khupye during the day. (ii) A certain amount of darkness is required because there are certain actions in the game which are not to be observed and daytime allows too much light to guard against this.

Any number of children can play but there are usually not more than ten players together. After it is decided to play *khupye* the players are divided into two equal groups, A and B. Each group chooses its own leader. The leader is called *Mma-bana—mother of the children* and he plays a very important part as will be noticed as our description goes on.

The only apparatus needed is the tiny seed of the Kafir tree (Erythrina Caffra.) which is commonly known as a lucky-bean. This seed is called the khupye. We take it that group A starts to play:

All the members of A say to those of B: Pônyang!-close your eyes! and the B-men do so. While the others close their eyes the A people bring their hands together and their leader hides the khupve in one of the hands. He says: Ke a swaya which actually means I mark, but in this case he means he hides it in some or other hand. When they have finished with the hiding of the khupye they all hold out their hands towards the B group (clenched hands are held apart with palms upwards) and they say: Re feditse-we have finished. All the members of group B open their eyes and look at the hands of their opponents but they remain passive excepting their leader who first says: Mma-bana o khotše eng? -The mother of the children, of what has she eaten enough? And if the leader of the A group has nothing in his hands he unfolds them and says: Ke letše ka tlala.—I remained hungry. If he has the Khupye in his hand something else follows with which we deal later on. Now the leader of the B group starts pointing at the different hands of the others saying: Latla se, Latla se-Drop this, drop this-etc. It is to the benefit of his group if he strikes the khupye before he comes to the last hand for then they get one of a whole range of things they need to build up a village as will be seen as we go on. Supposing the B leader strikes the khupye when there are still other closed hands (or only one) left. Then his men would say: Kxôtlôôôô-! which expresses the thought, you have struck it. For this success group B gets the first thing for their village, viz. an axe, and they say: Re na le sêlêpê.—We have an uxe. Had he failed to point at the hand holding the khupye before all the hands were opened,

his group would have had to hide the khupye for the others to find, but since this was not the case the A group has to repeat what they have done before. The B group closes eyes again and we have the same proceedings as before with one supplement namely, that after having asked the first question, (as before), to which we suppose he gets the same answer, A says: Latla malala-khupye-Drop the hand in which you had the khupye last time. This is done. (Note that the khupye must not be in the same hand for two consecutive times and a severe punishment is provided for with which we deal later). After this he goes on as before with the only wish to strike the khupve again before he comes to the last hand. Supposing he succeeds again, his group is granted the second thing for the building up of a village, viz. a forked stick used when felling thorny bushes and they say: Re na le kxakxangwê—we have a kxakxangwê (stick described). We note that the first things they are allowed are those they need to build the village, e.g. the axe and stick to attain branches for the hedge round about the huts. The following thing is the hedge itself and they say: Re na le thetemotse (hedge). This is followed by a cattle kraal -lešaka. After the kraal they get one by one cow. For the first cow they say: Re na le kxomo (cow). For the second cow they say: Re na le dikxomo tše pedi—we have two cows, etc. All these are granted as long as the B leader has the same luck as that explained when he started. As soon as he fails the chance of gaining material and stock for a village goes to group A and the game is carried on in the same way.

Now we wish to refer to what we mentioned concerning the answer of the leader on the question of the leader of the opponents. So far we supposed that he never had the khupye in one of his own hands. If he has it the following happens: On B's question: Mma-bana o khotše eng? A answers: Ke khotše—I have eaten enough. Now B knows he has only to deal with these two hands and before he goes on he says to the others: Latlung diatla kamoka—drop all the hands. And they do so. B points at both hands of his opponent saying in turn: Ntime se o mphé se—refuse to give me this one and give me this one. Here also he either succeeds in getting it or not.

We have already said that the *khupye* is not to be put into the same hand for two consecutive times. If this is done and the opponents notice it they say: *Le dirile mpya—you made a dog*. And the dog eats all the cattle which that group has gathered so far and they have to start from cow No. 1 again. The dog does not destroy anything except the cattle.

There is something which must be observed in connection with every cow which is counted by the seventh finger. The seventh finger

(i.e. the forefinger of the right hand) is the finger which points at the baloi—(witches). Therefore supposing a group has seven cows and it fails to get the eighth immediately after the seventh, that seventh one dies. It is killed by the witches and when their turn comes again they have to start again at the stage where they had six.

2. MMA-NTHADILE-A-TSELA

It is very often found that a long name such as the one given above here, is given to a person. Though in this case it is the name of our game it also represents a person concerned in the game and it means the one who leads the way, (literally: Mother of the one who starts the road). This game is mostly played by the women and the children. The apparatus which is most commonly used consists of as many maseka (bangles worn by women round the ankles) as possible. These maseka are placed in a circle and the size of the circle varies according to the number of bangles available,—a circle built of about 80 to 100 bangles is no exception. A small stone is placed in each bangle. (See diagram).

The game is played by two persons X and Y. X sits with her back towards the apparatus so that she sees nothing of what is going on behind her and Y performs. The latter points at the first stone, viz. a and she sings: Mo ke mang mo?—Here, who is here? X sings her answer: Ke Mma-nthadile-a-tsela.—It is The-one-who-leads-the way. Y goes on to the second bangle and sings again:

Mo ke mang mo? And in answer to this X sings as follows: Ngwana-a-mararêla-tsela.—Child of the one who goes zig-zag in the road.

Y carries on to the third stone and sings the same question as before to which X answers (all questions and answers are sung): Kxoromola o bee fase.—Take it away and put it down.

Fig. II

$$\begin{array}{c} A & B & C \\ A & \odot & O & \odot & \odot \\ \hline \bullet & & & & & \\ \hline \end{array} \begin{array}{c} A & B & C & D & E \\ \hline \bullet & & & & \\ \hline \end{array} \begin{array}{c} A & B & C & D & E \\ \hline \end{array} \begin{array}{c} C & D & E \\ \hline \end{array} \begin{array}{c} C & D & E \\ \hline \end{array} \begin{array}{c} C & D & E \\ \hline \end{array} \begin{array}{c} C & D & E \\ \hline \end{array} \begin{array}{c} C & D & E \\ \hline \end{array} \begin{array}{c} C & D & E \\ \hline \end{array} \begin{array}{c} C & D & E \\ \hline \end{array} \begin{array}{c} C & D & E \\ \hline \end{array} \begin{array}{c} C & D & E \\ \hline \end{array} \begin{array}{c} C & D & E \\ \hline \end{array} \begin{array}{c} C & D & E \\ \hline \end{array} \begin{array}{c} C & D & E \\ \hline \end{array} \begin{array}{c} C & D & E \\ \hline \end{array} \begin{array}{c} C & D & E \\ \hline \end{array} \begin{array}{c} C & D & E \\ \hline \end{array} \begin{array}{c} C & D & E \\ \hline \end{array} \begin{array}{c} C & D & E \\ \hline \end{array} \begin{array}{c} C & D & E \\ \hline \end{array} \begin{array}{c} C & D & E \\ \hline \end{array} \begin{array}{c} C & D & E \\ \hline \end{array} \begin{array}{c} C & D & E \\ \hline \end{array} \begin{array}{c} C & D & E \\ \hline \end{array} \begin{array}{c} C & D & E \\ \hline \end{array} \begin{array}{c} C & D & E \\ \hline \end{array} \begin{array}{c} C & D & E \\ \hline \end{array} \begin{array}{c} C & D & E \\ \hline \end{array} \begin{array}{c} C & D & E \\ \hline \end{array} \begin{array}{c} C & D & E \\ \hline \end{array} \begin{array}{c} C & D & E \\ \hline \end{array} \begin{array}{c} C & D & E \\ \hline \end{array} \begin{array}{c} C & D & E \\ \hline \end{array} \begin{array}{c} C & D & E \\ \hline \end{array} \begin{array}{c} C & D & E \\ \hline \end{array} \begin{array}{c} C & D & E \\ \hline \end{array} \begin{array}{c} C & D & E \\ \hline \end{array} \begin{array}{c} C & D & E \\ \hline \end{array} \begin{array}{c} C & D & E \\ \hline \end{array} \begin{array}{c} C & D & E \\ \hline \end{array} \begin{array}{c} C & D & E \\ \hline \end{array} \begin{array}{c} C & D & E \\ \hline \end{array} \begin{array}{c} C & D & E \\ \hline \end{array} \begin{array}{c} C & D & E \\ \hline \end{array} \begin{array}{c} C & D & E \\ \hline \end{array} \begin{array}{c} C & D & E \\ \hline \end{array} \begin{array}{c} C & D & E \\ \hline \end{array} \begin{array}{c} C & D & E \\ \hline \end{array} \begin{array}{c} C & D & E \\ \hline \end{array} \begin{array}{c} C & D & E \\ \hline \end{array} \begin{array}{c} C & D & E \\ \hline \end{array} \begin{array}{c} C & D & E \\ \hline \end{array} \begin{array}{c} C & D & E \\ \hline \end{array} \begin{array}{c} C & D & E \\ \hline \end{array} \begin{array}{c} C & D & E \\ \hline \end{array} \begin{array}{c} C & D & E \\ \hline \end{array} \begin{array}{c} C & D & E \\ \hline \end{array} \begin{array}{c} C & D & E \\ \hline \end{array} \begin{array}{c} C & D & E \\ \hline \end{array} \begin{array}{c} C & D & E \\ \hline \end{array} \begin{array}{c} C & D & E \\ \hline \end{array} \begin{array}{c} C & D & E \\ \hline \end{array} \begin{array}{c} C & D & E \\ \hline \end{array} \begin{array}{c} C & D & E \\ \hline \end{array} \begin{array}{c} C & D & E \\ \hline \end{array} \begin{array}{c} C & D & E \\ \hline \end{array} \begin{array}{c} C & D & E \\ \hline \end{array} \begin{array}{c} C & D & E \\ \hline \end{array} \begin{array}{c} C & D & E \\ \hline \end{array} \begin{array}{c} C & D & E \\ \hline \end{array} \begin{array}{c} C & D & E \\ \hline \end{array} \begin{array}{c} C & D & D \\ \end{array} \begin{array}{c} C & D$$

Y takes away the stone in C (fig. II) and puts it aside. She starts again at A singing the questions as before and X gives the same answers as for the first time where A and B are concerned. But X must remember when Y points at the third one, that she is now pointing at an empty bangle and in answer to Y's one and only question, she sings:

There is nothing there.—Mouwe xa xona selo.

Y goes on to the fourth bangle and in answer to her question (which is the same right through the game) X answers: Kxoromola o bee fase, after which Y also takes that one away and starts at the beginning again. She sings her question while she points at the different bangles and X gives the same answers as before. When Y comes to D (which is now also empty), Y answers: Lexôna xa xôna selô.—There also there is nothing.

When Y comes to E which still contains a stone, X sings as before: Kxoromola o bee fase. Y then starts all over again at A, asking the same questions as before. Note that X sings: Mouwe xa xona selo. for the first empty one and for all the empty bangles which follow: Le xôna xa xona selo.

In this way the bangles are emptied one by one and it requires skill to remember just how many are empty at the different stages, and when to answer: Kxoromola o bee fase, which happens whenever you come to the first bangle still containing a stone which follows on one previously emptied. If X goes wrong all the stones are replaced and she takes Y's position who in her turn takes X's position to answer.

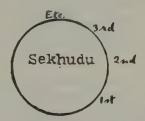
To Europeans this would certainly be a very boring game but Natives (especially women) are not easily bored as long as they are allowed to participate, no matter how uninteresting the subject may be. On the contrary, Native women find this seemingly boring game very enjoyable and they seem to get a good deal of excitement out of it. Just as easily as we would play bridge from eight till two, would two Native women play *Mma-nthadile-a-tsela* from midday till twilight. Onlookers are usually just as much interested as those who play.

3. DIKĒTŌ

- A. This is a game for girls only and they enjoy it very much. To see a few girls at this game for hours on end is quite common.
- B. Any number of players may take part though the number is not unlimited. Space and size of the apparatus must be borne in mind.
- C. Apparatus: One hole (about six inches in diameter and two inches deep) is dug in the ground. This is called the Sekhudu (a shallow

hole). Eight stones are placed in the sekhudu (sometimes more stones are used). Each player must have one stone of her own in her hand. She alone plays with this stone and it is called Mokêtô.

D. If a girl feels like playing Dikêtô she makes the suggestion by saying: A reng dikêtong—Let us go to dikêtô. And as soon as she sees that the others find it a good proposal, she picks the first chance to play by saying: Ke tšešo, which means: they are ours. The first one to say: Nthsôxong—(at your hand or I am second) comes second, the second one who shouts ntsôxong! gets the third chance to play, etc. Stones are then gathered, the hole dug and the girls take their positions roundabout the Sekhudu. The one who plays first, sits down and the one who is entitled to the second chance sits on her right hand side, then comes the third who sits on the right of No. 2 etc.



- E. Before the playing starts two agreements must be made viz. (i) How many rounds are to be played for the full game (usually any number of rounds from two to ten, but not more than ten.) (ii) Which hand is going to be used. As a rule the first player asks:—Re kêta ka mphapa?—Do we play with the left hand? If the others think they should use the left hand they say yes, and the game starts. If, however, the majority prefer to play with the right hand they (or someone) say: Aowa, re kêta ka sa-xo-ja-No, we play with the right hand.
- F. We suppose that it has been decided that six rounds will make the set. Six marks are therefore needed to complete the set. Every round counts one mark. It is possible for a player to finish all six rounds without making any mistake (we deal with the mistakes later on). But if she makes a mistake before having completed the six rounds she has to stop and the second one starts playing. Only the number of full rounds completed by the first player before making a mistake counts towards the completion of her six rounds. If she manages to play four rounds during her first turn she has to play another two faultless rounds when her turn comes again. If she manages that she is called out. If she fails she has to wait for her third turn etc.

- G. This is how a round and eventually a set is played: After all the preliminaries (described above) the first player starts playing while the others watch her carefully. She throws her moketo up into the air (about eighteen inches). While the moketo is still up in the air she must grab some of the eight stones (more than one, even all eight will do) in the sekhudu and drag them out (the stones are never actually picked up and held in the hand). She must do this fast enough to have her hand free to catch the mokétô when it comes down. The mokétô is again thrown up and the stones which are now outside are to be pushed back into the sekhudu excepting one, this also must be done while the moketo is still in the air. The one which remains is called the child (ny wana) and she puts it aside. Thus she has to empty the hole (note that for every action of the hand the moketo must be thrown and caught in time). It stands to reason that it is much easier to take two or three stones from the hole at a time and to keep one of these than to take five or six at a time. Therefore the opponents regard the taking of as few stones as possible as unfair and they say to the performer: O a kôpôla,—vou take too few. The latter will immediately respond to this and take more at a time. When our player comes to the stage where only one stone is left she takes that one alone and with different moves (about six inches each) pushes it round Sekhudu (off the edge). When she comes to the place where she started the circular movements, she adds also this last child to her others. The round is ended off by throwing the moketo up, touch the ground with the flat hand and catching the mokêtô in time as before. The stones are now replaced and the second round starts. All the rounds are played in the same way.1 At the end of the last round however, not only the last child is moved round the sekhudu but all the children are pushed together. This ends the set and the player is out.—O tšwile.
- H. All the players are naturally very keen to have their turn and if a player keeps on too long without making a mistake they would say:

O a xôpa, ke wêna sexôpyê. You play too well, you are a cute one.

And then all the others start singing:

Sexôpyê sa Bo-nkwana—The cute one of Nkwana. Modibelêtša a Bo-Nkwana.—The selfish one of Nkwana.

They sing this to put her off and if still they do not succeed in their efforts they usually add a short frightening refrain:

¹ The rounds are played in the same way with this exception, that bigger girls who play well, leave one child at a time for the first round, two children for the second, three for the third, etc.

Ha! — Sexбру€ На!! — Sexбру€.

- I. Mistakes which counts against a player and as a result of which she has to stop her turn:
- 1. As we have said only one *child* must be kept behind at a time. If a player accidentally leaves two or more behind (sometimes all), she makes a mistake and her turn ceases. Kentswê—It is a cause to stop.
- 2. Sometimes a player has to pay much attention to the *Mokété* so as to catch it in time. In this eagerness not to miss it, it happens that she fails to bring out of the hole a single stone. This brings her turn to an end. The others say: Ke nkhothe—It is a miss.
- 3. If the player misses the mokêtô when it comes down it is a mistake.
- 4. The child is sometimes pushed halfway into the hole with the others so that it lies on the edge of the hole. The opponents see that and say: Ngwana o a nwa.—The child sucks. The player drops her jaw and looks at them quite foolishly, saying:

Na ngwana xe a nwa xa o tseiwe naa?

And is the child not to be taken when it sucks?

If the others are kind and filled with a spirit of goodwill they will allow the player to go on or otherwise they will stop her. She has to abide by the decision of her opponents. If a player hands over the *Turn* to another she says: Ke a mo šiela—I give over to her.

- J. The girls count in a way somewhat different to the usual names of the numbers in Pedi:
 - Thus: 1. Ntowa.
 - 2. Dibedi.
 - 3. Diraro.
 - 4. Dinnê.
 - 5. Mafetša.—(the last finger of the left hand.)
 - 6. Motabê.
 - 7. Mašupa. (the finger which points.)
 - 8. Ntsa (the finger is in the middle of the others).
 - 9. Mošala (the one after which only one is left).
 - 10. Maxau.

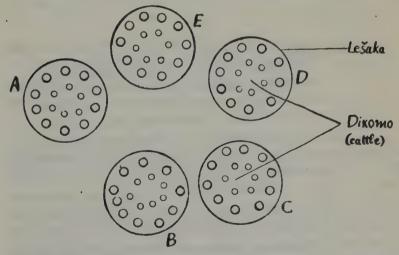
4. DITHWAI

A. Unfortunately our informants were unable to give us the exact meaning of the name of this game. The word thaii however is well-

known and it means to guess. Though in ordinary speech riddles are called dithaii, we have reason to think that the word with the extra w in it and the one used for riddles are related to each other, and as the description below will prove, the whole game is, apart from other wit, a game of guessing. It is mostly played by boys.

- B. Any number of players from two upwards can play but it is almost never found that more than seven or eight boys play together.
- C. Every player builds his own lešaka (kraal for cattle) which is a flattened mound of soil about an inch high and six inches in diameter. (Note that the kraal is not merely a circle drawn on the ground, and we believe that this elevated model is derived from the very common Native cattle kraal which after many years of service is so much filled with manure that the surface is sometimes five or six feet higher than the surface of the earth round about it.) When these mašaka are built the players come to an agreement as to how many cattle shall be put into each, (every kraal must have the same number of cattle.) Each provides his own cattle, which are stones, about the size of a pigeon's egg but of different forms and appearances. Some of the cattle are placed on the edge of the kraal—right round to form a kind of protection for the others which are placed in the centre. Those on the edge are usually bigger than those on the inside.

The following is a sketch of the apparatus needed for five players:



D. We suppose the game starts with A. He asks for a chance to examine his cattle carefully. He says: Ema ke di lekolé—Wait let me

examine them. After having had about two minutes to do this, the others say: O di lekotše? Have you examined them? It is taken for granted that he will say yes and they proceed. A has to close his eyes—pônya mahló—and while he does this all the others, in the order of B C D and E, each takes one of his cattle (the smaller ones in the centre of the kraal are taken first) and puts it among his own. They say: Re a di thopa. We capture them. When they are finished A opens his eyes and he has to identify his cattle among those of the others. He starts with B and finishes off with E. If he succeeds in finding his cows among those of his opponents he may take them back to his own lešaka otherwise he loses them. If he fails to recognise a single one of the cattle stolen from his kraal while he was sleeping he has to pônya again and the others repeat their first actions. If however, he succeeds in finding one or more the turn to pônya goes on to the one in whose kraal he recognised his first cow.

E. This goes on until time comes to stop (it seldom happens that a player is robbed of all his cattle because at the stage when only a few are left he is able to know them better, and to recognise them becomes easier). When all the smaller cattle in the centre are captured and taken away, the opponents start with the bigger ones on the side of the kraal and they say: Re thôma xo rutla lešaka.—We begin to break down the kraal. In the end the one who has the most cattle in his kraal wins the game.

Dithwai is not only a very enjoyable game but also adds a lot towards the development of a strong power of observation.

5. TSIKE

- A. Our informants were unable to tell what the name of the game really means. There does not seem to be any particular meaning in it.
- B. The game is mostly played by herdboys when with the cattle in the veld. Any number of boys can take part as long as they are not too many for the apparatus and space available.
- C. Apparatus: Any number of aloe leaves (those of a small kind which is very common in the Northern Transvaal). The leaves are used whole as they are, but there must be some very small ones among them. These aloe leaves are called dikxopha.
- (ii) Each player must have a thorn, called *motak6* (about four inches long). This is used for stabbing as will be seen in the description.
- (iii) One extra aloe leaf in which a small hole, about a quarter of an inch in diameter, is made. This leaf is called *mothadi* and it is put aside only to be used when necessary (as will be explained later).

D. A boy who wishes to play Tsike makes it known by saying: A reng ro hlaba tsike.—Come along let us go and stab tsike. If the others find his suggestion good they gather what is necessary for the game and they all sit down forming a circle. The space within the circle is called: Kxoro ya mošate.—The courtyard of the chief's kraal.

Dikxopha are then put into this circle and they are called cattle. The following sketch will be needed for further explanation:



E. When everybody has settled down comfortably with their mataks in their hands, ready to stab (the motaks is held in different ways between the fingers and a brisk movement of the thumb causes it to shoot out) they all wait for a given word to start. On the command: Di a mmala! (meaning unknown) they all start shooting at the cattle in the kxsrs. Each cow in which a player manages to let his motaks stick, may be taken away by him to his own lešaka (kraal). This shooting is not done in turn, all stab together to the rhythm of the following song:

A di ye mme,—Let them go mother,

Kxorong ya mošate.—To the courtyard of the chief's kraal.

Refrain: Mmala Rra-nkônkôtšane (no meaning)

Ka nthša polwana,—And I take out a tolly.

Ka rêka sethôle.—And I buy a heifer.

Mmala Rra-nkônkôtšane.

If it so happens that two boys stab the same cow it is picked up and shaken. The one whose $motak\delta$ remains in it the longest gets the cow. The smaller aloe leaves stay in the $Kx\delta r\delta$ the longest and stabbing these causes much excitement towards the end.

F. When all the cattle are stabbed from the circle a more complicated phase sets in. We suppose B was the last one to stab a cow in the circle. A has to hand over his cattle to B, one at a time, and he says: Ke a mo thšélêla—I pour in for him. B takes each and puts it down in front of him, shoots at it with his motak6 so as to stab it. All those which

he manages to stab are added to the other cattle that already belong to him. As soon as B fails to stab a cow coming from A like this, A ceases to hand over. B keeps the one which he missed (x), but apart from his others, (in the main circle—see sketch) and he starts handing his cattle over to C. C is very cute, he stabs all B's cattle one by one without missing a single one. B is now in a very awkward position and he should be out, but there are two ways by which he might be saved from a permanent fall: He is given a chance to save his position by stabbing the only one which was left to him viz. x (as described above). If he stabs this one with the first shot he is allowed to keep it and he awaits his turn when A will again hand over to him. If he misses this one, C also shoots at it (and a competition starts between B and C). If C stabs it first he takes it and B has nothing left. But B gets another chance, and this is where the Mothadi (described under apparatus) comes in. The mothadi is now put into the circle and another competition between B and C starts, viz., to shoot so well as to send their motako right into the hole in the mothadi. They do this in turn. If B succeeds in managing this before C, C has to give back that last cow x, thus enabling him to remain in the game. however, in this competition also he is defeated by C he goes out. C says: Ke mo wišitše.—I have thrown him down. The others say: welê.-He fell.

G. The process is now carried on and C starts handing over his cattle to D who also stabs them one by one, etc.

Tsike is indeed a very enjoyable game and it is no wonder that cattle and sheep very often go astray while the herdboys are occupied by such good amusement.

6. SERÊLÊLE-SA-TSELA

- A. The name of this game means Slider of the road. This name is, as many other names, descriptive, and to understand our description easily, this fact must be borne in mind.
- B. Any number of boys and girls can take part. The more players the more fun, and the better the singing which accompanies the actions. It is one of the few games where boys and girls play together. (It does not mean that boys cannot play alone).
- C. As with most Native games, someone makes the suggestion by saying: A reng serêlêleng.—Let us go Serêlêleng. Each player finds a stone about as big as a tennis ball and they all kneel down (sitting on the heels) to form a circle. The stone is held in the right hand on the ground.

D. On the command: Re a thwathwanya fase.—We tap on the ground, the whole crowd start tapping the ground with their stones while they sing:

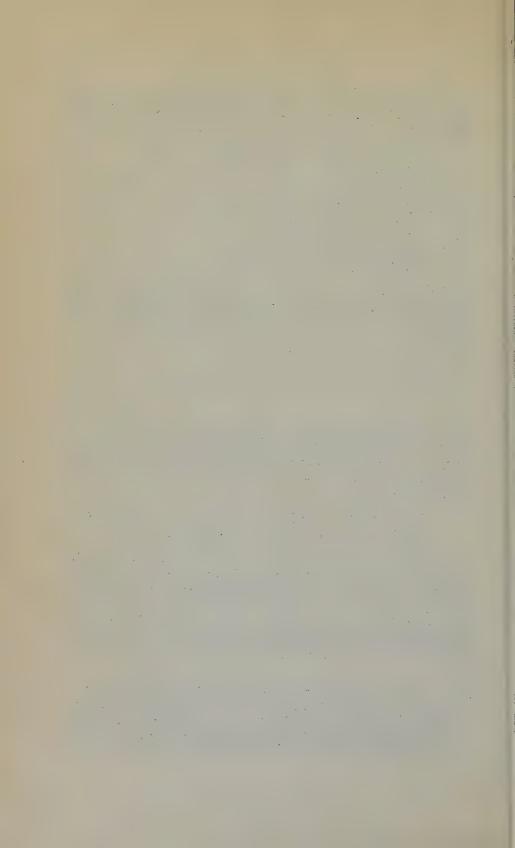
Ke hlakane le Mma-moxolo a mokêtê, A botša majakane, A lokišê sejêlô. Monyandi thunthša lerole! —I met the grandmother of somebody, And she told the Christians, That they must prepare for the meal, Bridegroom, shoot the dust!

The tapping is done to the rhythm of this song, and as soon as the song ends all give the following command together: Re a dikélétša. We let go round. And on this the stones are passed round the circle:

A puts his stone in front of B and B puts his in front of C, C passes his on to D etc. They all receive the stones as they come in and pass them on by picking them up and putting them down in front of the one on their right hand side. This is done to the rhythm of the refrain belonging to the song given above:

Monyadi thunthša—thunthša—thunthša lerole, Monyadi thunthša. A lokiše sejelô,—monyadi thunthša—thunthša lerole, etc.

- D. The players must pay very careful attention to the rhythm of the song or else a stone will be coming to his place before he is able to move the previous one on to his right hand neighbour. If this happens that player goes out and so the circle becomes smaller and smaller until the number of players is too small to carry on. It may be found that three players will keep on but when the number is reduced to two the game stops and all join in once more.
- Note: A game called Moruba is by far the most popular played by the people concerned in this article, but since this game has already been fully described by the late Rev. H. A. Juned in his book, The Life of a South African Tribe, we have omitted an account of it in this list of games.



A PRELIMINARY CHECK LIST OF ZULU NAMES OF PLANTS

With Short Notes

By REV. JACOB GERSTNER, Ph.D.

(Continued)

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- 1306. i(li) Jalambu (general) some kinds of Ipomoea, creepers like Ipomoea congesta, Ipomoea palmata, Ipomoea purpurea, etc., which like the Jalap-plant possess strong purgative qualities. Hence the name.
- 1307. i(li) Jalamu, the same as i(li) Jalambu.
- 1308. i(li) Jalaphu, the same as i(li) Jalambu.
- 1309. *i(li) Jalimane* (general), a variety of sweet potato, grow by then German settlers in Natal, whence the name.
- 1310. *i(li)Jambe* (1) according to Bryant a tree with handsome berries (C.N.).
- 1311. um Jela (general S & X), Rauwolfia natalensis, the Quinine tree.
- 1312. um Jele, the same as um Jela.
- 1312(a). in Jemane, palm-wine made from the wild date's stem when it is flowering. Sometimes used incorrectly for the whole flowering plant, (general NMA).
- 1313. *u Jeri* (o *Jeri*) (1), according to Binder the Jack-fruit tree, *Artocarpus integrifolia*, an Indian-Malayan tree introduced into tropical South African gardens.
- 1314. *uJiba* (Class I, no plural), a reddish kafir-corn, not eaten by birds, as it is very astringent.
- 1315. u(lu) Jikwe, a kind of sweet potato, probably Plectranthus esculentus, a Labiate imported in ancient times from tropical Africa.
- 1316. u(lu) Jilo, the same as u Jikwe, a variety with longer stalks.

- 1317. i(li) Jingijolo (general), all species of the genus Rubus, the brambles, black berries and raspberries. It is also used for the mulberry tree on behalf of the similar fruits. Some Natives distinguish between i(li) Jingijolo (Rubus pinnatus, the forest bramble) and i(li) Tshalo (Rubus rigidus, the Veld bramble, R. cuneifolius, the American bramble, and R. Ludwigii, the mountain bramble). Others say these two names are synonymous.
- 1318. i(li) Jingijolo elincane, the strawberry of the garden.
- 1319. i(li) Jingitheka, the same as i Jingitela.
- 1320. i(li) Jingithela, Vernonia hirsuta, a Composite-herb with purplish flowers, the roots of which are cooked and used against cough, a substitute of isiBaha (Warburgia Breyeri Pott).
- 1321. in Jininka (1), according to Weintroub the Aron-lily, Zantedeschia aethiopica, the young leaves of which are eaten as a wild vegetable.
- 1322. um Jiwana (1 N & T), Grewia occidentalis, a beautiful tree of the bushveld.
- 1323. u Jobane (1 NUB) Encephalartos Altensteinii and Encephalartos nkosiensis, two kinds of Cycads.
- 1324. isi Jobe (1 W & S), a tree of the northern region.
- 1325. in Jobo (general), certain swamp-lilies as Urginea macrocentra Bkr., "the Natal Slangkop," Urginea lilacina Bkr. and Anoignanthus breviflorus Bkr., the yellow swamp-lily. The bulbs are used against round worms and tape worm. Dangerous poisonous plants.
- 1326. u Jobo, the same as in Jobo.
- 1327. in Jolo (1 NIN), a plant, the tender leaves of which are boiled and eaten.
- 1328. um Jolo, probably the same as um Tshumo, the pipe for the hemp smoker.
- 1329. in Jongwane (1 NIN), a plant.
- 1330. um Jono, according to Bryant the same as um Jolo.
- 1331. um Jovana, the same as um Tshovana, a wild vine growing along the Pongola (1 NS) Gerstner 1727 National Herbarium.
- 1332. u(lu) Juba (2 NUF), a tree of the bushveld, Garcinia Livinstonei.
- 1333. isi Jube (1) according to Mogg 6630 a grass, Trachypogon polymorphus.
- 1334. in Juju (S & X), Silene burchelli, a herb with a carnation-like flower.

- 1335. um Juluka (general), a herb supposed to finish perspiration e.g. Aptenia cordifolia, a Mesembrianthemum-creeper, another one with cordate leaves and crenate leaves grows near the water. Also a rare tree Casearea Junodi.
- 1336. in Jumbane (2), a tree of Tonga-Land, used for poisoning people.
- 1331. um Jumbula (N & T), the same as Umdumbula, Manihot utilissima, the Manioc plant.
- 1338. in Jumo, cf. in Tshumo, um Tshumo, uTshumo, plants, providing the pipes to smoke hemp.
- 1339. *uJumo*, a Composite-herb, the roots of which are used for enema (1 NND).
- 1340. u(lu)Jwandu (1), probably the same as u(lu)Jwangu.
- 1341. u(lu) Jwangu (general), Plectranthus esculentus, a Labiate-herb with edible tubers, which is planted since ancient times by the Bantu.
- 1342. inKabamasane, some milky herb, probably the same as 1349.
- 1343. inKabayomntwana (general NP) Vangueria latifolia, etc., a small shrub with edible fruits.
- 1344. Kafutane, according to Weintroub a plant used as a Native food.
- 1345. inKaka (N & T), a wild cucumber climbing on trees, Momordica balsamica L. Tongas eat the plant. A poultice of it is used for burns.
- 1346. umKaka (NUB), the same as inKaka.
- 1347. i(li)Kala or umKala, Aloe marlothii and Aloe candelabrum. This name is taken from the Mokyala, i.e. Aloe candelabrum, western Sesotho word.
- 1348. inKalane (general), to be derived from Lekhalana (small aloes), inKalane enkulu, Aloe bainesii Dyer, the biggest and multi-branched Aloe, up to 50 ft. high. Further Aloe arborescens, the multi-branched Shrub-Aloe, very common on the Berg, Aloe nitens, growing along rivers (also called umHlabanhlazi or uPhondonde), Aloe suprafoliata Pol. Ev. and Aloe tenuior Haw.
- 1349. inKamamasane (general), used for very different small Euphorbias Spurge, milk weed, like Euphorbia bupleurifolia, pŭginformis prostrata, procumbens, pulvinata, etc., etc.
- 1350. inKamanga, (general W & S), Strelitzia augusta, the so-called wild banana.

- 1351. inKanga (Natal & NES), the same as umThithimbila, some weeds of the Senecio-group like Senecio pterophorus, ilicifolius, serra, Burchellii, etc., usually called ragworts, and often poisonous to cattle.
- 1352. inKaza (S & X), Euclea natalensis and macrophylla. The former is more known by the name inKunzi emnyama. Trees of the bushveld.
- 1353. *inKazane*, according to Bryant a certain weed, having a white flower and eaten as vegetable.
- 1354. inKehli(general), the seeds of Afzelia cuanzensis Welw. (N & T), the Rhodesian Mahogany, a beautiful tree of the North with big legumes. The Mangusi forest in the Ingwavuma District once had thousands of these trees, now killed by the increasing population of this border district. The black seeds look like a big acorn in form but have a red arillus-cap and so resemble the head of a heathen women with top-knot. Hence the name inKehli. These seeds are sold by herbalists all over Natal.
- 1355. amaKha, any plant used for scent like imFenyana, Senecio rhynco-laenus DC; isiFikane, Lasiospermum radiatum Trer.; i(li)Hubo, Senecio erubescens; inHlashane, Cnidium Kraussianum; imPepho, the flowers of Gazania longicapsa; inSindwane, Peliostomum calycinum N.E. Br.; umKhuzwa, Heteropyxis natalensis. Besides these wonderfully fragrant flowers they use the fruits of isiGcence, Protorhus longifolia; the seeds of umNinkwane, Fagara capensis, and the only repulsive to European taste: uBande or umuThwa is the pulverized pith of the umThombothi tree, Spirostachys africana.
- 1356. isiKhaba (2) probably a wild lettuce or it's flowers.
- 1357. umKhabamasi, (W & S), Rauwolfia natalensis, the so-called Quinine-tree.
- 1358. isiKhabamkhombe, isiKhabamkhombo (W & S), Peltophorum africanum, the Rhodesian wattle, a very ornamental tree of the bushveld.
- 1359. i(li)Khabe, a variety of the i(li)Bece, Citrullus vulgaris. It is sweet and white (introduced forms pink) inside and eaten raw.
- 1360. u(lu)Khabe, the plant of the sweet water-melon.
- 1361. umKhahlu (general NIN), Conopharyngia ventricosa and Conopharyngia elegans, commonly called uNomfi, trees growing along rivers of the low and middle-veld. They have plenty of latex, which is used as bird-lime.

- 1362. i(li)Khakhaka, i(li)Kkakhakhe (NZ), the same as i(li)Khakhasi.
- 1363. i(li)Khakhasi (general), different thistles of the genus Berkheya:

 Berkheya rhapontica, Berkheya echinacea, Berkheya discolor,

 Berkheya seminivea, Berkheya debilis, Berkheya setifera, etc.
- 1364. umKhakhasi, a name for very different trees in different places:
 (NP) Erythrina latissima, the hairy broad-leaved Kafirboom, (NIN)
 Homalium subsuperum, a giant tree of the high forests of the
 Ubombo Mountains, (NS, NZ), Pygeum africanum, the red Stinkwood, Combretum Kraussi, etc.
- 1365. umKhakhayi (general NZ & NJ), Mimusops caffra, the best timber of our Coast-Bush with fine edible fruits. The opening flower (reminding one of an Edelweiss) looks in the middle like the haircrown of the duiker (u(lu)Khakhayi), hence the name.
- 1366. umKhala, the same as umKhaya (NIN & NUB).
- 1367. isiKhalala (NZ 3), the sugar-bush growing along the coast, Protea simplex, probably only a coast form of Protea caffra.
- 1368. uKhalamasoka (ND), a plant, the roots of which are used as love-charm.
- 1369. u(lu)Khalimele (general), a forest creeper of the genus Rhynchosia used against headache and as love-charm. (W & S) Acacia swazica, a shrubby tree of the northern bushveld.
- 1370. i(li)Khalumusi, the Calamus, a reed-like herb of the Aron-Lily Family introduced into Europe by the crusaders from Palestine, to where it came from the Far East. Now planted all over the whole world. It came here through the Cape and is sold by all Native herbalists. But also the European chemists are using the Acorus-root or Sweet-Flag. It is used against dyspepsia and flatulence and for preparing liqueurs.
- 1371. umKhamba (general in Zululand and Natal), Acacia lasiopetala, the common Acacia with the papery bark and fleshy fruits, which are a very good winter feeding for stock. (W & S) Acacia xanthophloea the so-called fever or look-out tree (umHlosinga).
- 1372. umKhambamkhombo (W & S), Peltophorum africanum, a very ornamental tree of the northern bushveld, the Rhodesian wattle.
- 1373. umKhambathi, a tree.
- 1374. iKhambi (general) any medicinal herb especially the herbal house medicines, e.g. iKhambi eliluhlaza, Aristea eckloni; iKhambi eliphofana, Matricaria nigellifolia; iKhambi lamabulawo, Carpobrotus edulis; iKhambi lenkosi, Cluytia pulchella; iKhambi lenyo-

- ngo, Wedelia natalensis; iKhambi lesihlungu, Geranium ornithopodium; iKhambi lesilonda, Pellaea viridis; iKhambi lesilungulela, a Labiate; iKhambi leziduli, Cardiospermum halicacabum L., the balloon-vine; etc., etc.
- 1375. isiKhambophane (NUB & NIN), Acacia senegal, the Acacia with three black hooks together, a tree of the bushveld yielding the best gum.
- 1376. u(lu)Khamele (N & T), probably the same as u(lu)Khalimele.
- 1377. uKhamgwinqi (Pluck and devour!), a forest tree with very fine ovale fruits and a hairy calyx, Doryalis rhamnoides. Yields excellent jelly.
- 1378. umKhamtshwili (NES & NUF), Secamone alpini, a forest-climber.
- 1379. i(li)Khanda-lempaka (general), Doryalis celastroides, a very thorny tree or shrub, with edible berries growing usually on the margins of the forests.
- 1380. umKhangala (general), Strychnos atherstonei Harv., the Cape Teak, a tree of the mist-belt-forests, yielding very good sticks, hard timber, good poles.
- 1381. umKhangazo (S & X general), Gardenia Thunbergia L., an under shrub of the mistbelt forest with big white flowers. Root excellent emetic against fever.
- 1382. umKhangele (S & X), the same as umKhangala.
- 1383. umKhangu, the same as umKhwangu, Erythrophloeum guineense, a tree of the northern districts.
- 1384. amaKhanju, (NIN), sweet-potato-like roots of a certain herb.
- 1385. umKhankasi (2), according to Mogg 3590 an Asclepiadious herb with a bulbous root, eaten by herd boys. Probably Asclepias bicuspis N.E.Br.
- 1386. umKhaphalanga (2), prob. a kind of Rumex, Dock.
- 1387. i(li)Khaphanyongo (1), according to Watt, Melanthera Brownii Sch. Bip., a herb with composite flowers.
- 1388. amaKhasane (NIN general), a white variety of Manioc, with five-lobed leaves. The stems, midribs and peticles are green in colour. Either the non-poisonous form of Manihot utilissima or Manihot palmata var. aipi.
- 1389. u(lu)Khasi (2 S & X), certain kind of grass used for making ropes, sewing baskets, etc.
- 1390. uKhasikhulu, certain plant used for amaKha, Native scent.

- 1391. umKhathane (3) Cassipourea Gerrardi, a tree not very frequent in Zululand.
- 1392. i(li)Khathazu, the same as i(li)Khathazo.
- 1393. i(li)Khathazo (general), Alepidea amatymbica, an Umbellifera, 2-3 ft. high if flowering, growing once frequently in the mistbelt areas along the shady streams but now getting very rare in consequence of the eradication through the herbalists. This plant could easily be cultivated. It has a strong smell and is used against colds, coughs and influenza, etc. The root is eaten raw or cooked. A teaspoonful of the juice for child, a tablespoon for an adult. The taste and smell reminds us of the great burnet-saxifrage.
- 1394. *i(li)Khathazo elimhlophe*, a medicinal plant, growing in swamps and used in similar way as the true *i(li)Khathazo*.
- 1395. i(li)Khathibuthi (1) according to Bryant a certain veld-herb; resembling the in Tshongwe.
- 1396. umKhathula (1) according to Watt, Pulicaria capensis DC, a herb used for gynecological purposes.
- 1397. uKhathwa (3), a plant used against i(li)Habiya, the hysterical fits of girls.
- 1398. umKhatshu (W & S), a tree of the North (Stegi) the fruits of which are used to make a bitter beer.
- 1399. umKhaya (general) "the nose-ring" Acacia. Cf. the other form umKhala (1366), hence the name. This name is applied to three different Acacias which have all awful hooks: Acacia pallens, Acacia mossambicensis and Acacia senegal.
- 1400. umKhaya omhloshana, the whitish Nose-ring Acacia, Acacia senegal, with whitish timber and three hooks always round the petiols of the leaves together. It yields the best arabic-gum.
- 1401. umKhaya omnyamana or omnyama, Aapie-Doorn, Acacia mossambicensis (or Welwitchii). It has always two hooks below the petiole of the leaves and a blackish very durable heartwood. Where it occurs in the northern bushveld, it is always used for making slips, as it forks usually ten ft high.
- 1402. umKhaya onguye, Acacia pallens, Aapie-Doorn, a tree of the very dry northern bushveld and very frequent in Rhodesia, where its durable timber is used in mines. There is one variety of this tree called inkunzi and one inkomazi. Separate sexes are out of question as all flowers prove to be hermaphrodites. But it seems that the one variety (inkunzi) which has always plenty of knobthorns (there-

- fore often called *Pardepram*, i.e. horse-utter) is suffering from galls, especially on the flowers which are therefore of course infertile. The fruitbearing variety (*inkomazi*) has only few or no knobthorns.
- 1403. uKhayikhayi, oKhayikhayi, the same as umKhakhayi, Mimusops caffra, a royal timber of the sand dunes with delicious fruits.
- 1404. uKhayimeya (NUF, W & S), the same as uKhalimela (1369).
- 1405. umKhaze (3 S & X), Royena lucida, a shrub (seldom a tree) growing between the rocks of the midlands.
- 1406. uKhazi (2) Oplismenus africanus, a grass of the mistbelt forest climbing up twenty and more feet high. Used for baskets.
- 1407. uKhazikhazi, the same as u(lu)Che, according to Bryant, a grass of the river-banks.
- . 1408. i(li)Khehlane (2) probably Allophylus monophyllus Radlk., a small tree of the mistbelt-forests.
 - 1409. umKhehlekhehle, (1 NKA) Cassia laevig ata, a shrub of the forests and bushveld.
 - 1410. isiKhelekehlane (3), Crassula rubicunda E. Mey., a beautifully red flowering herb, used as intelexi yokuchela and as enema.
 - 1411. umKhelekhele (1) white stinkwood (?), a big tree of the Wome forest.
 - 1412. umKhethunge (S & X), Syzygium Gerrardi, the umDoni of the forests, a frequent tree.
 - 1413. umKhinza, (1) according to Bryant, a certain thorny bush.
 - 1414. umKhiphambedu (general), means "taking away the fat attached to the pericardium=uBedu," certain tree, Calpurnia subdecandra, which grows in bushveld and forests. The leaves and powdered roots are used as insecticide for lice and itch.
 - 1415. umKhiphampethu (1 Watt), probably a spoiled form of 1414.
 - 1416. uKhiphanoni (NZ), hairy shrub.
 - 1417. umKhiwa, the same as 1418.
 - 1418. umKhiwane (general), Ficus capensis, i.e. "the tree, where the water is taken." The most common Fig-tree along the rivers, and the only one the leaves of which have the margin not entire. The fruits of about 1 inch in diam. are sweet, edible, outside glabrous and mostly full of little grubs of the tiny wasps, which fertilize the receptacles (=little figs with open mouth and inside on the wall full of little flowers), in flowering time.

- 1419. umKhoba (general), Podocarpus latifolius, the yellow wood, a royal timber of our mistbelt-forests.
- 1420. isiKhobe (2) certain plant used for treating the isiKhobe—sickness, i.e. diarrhoea of infants.
- 1421. umKhoße (N&T & NUB), a plant of the Pea and Bean-family with a root like sweet-potatos, which is cooked and eaten.
- 1422. umKhoßese (1) according to Bews, Lachnopyliscongesta, a bogwood.
- 1423. umKhobeza (S&X), Lachnopylis congesta and Lachnopylis floribunda, two kinds of bogwood.
- 1424. *iKhofi* (general), the seed of the Coffee-plant and the drink made from it.
- 1425. umKhofi, the Coffee-Plant, coffea arabica, abessynica, etc.
- 1426. umKhokha (general), umuthi wenhlanhla, praised as love charm, Abrus precatorius, a climber of the Pea and Bean family climbing for yards and yards over the thorn-trees. Very conspicious are its hundreds of scarlet seeds when the dry seedpods are open in autumn-time. Sometimes they are even cultivated as they are together with the seeds of Erythrina, the Kafirboom-genus used as beads.
- 1427. umKhokha wehlathi, some climbers of the Ipomoea family used for a purgative drink, etc., e.g. Ipomoea ficifolia Ldl, Convolvulus farinosus, etc.
- 1428. *i(li)Khokhela* (4) an *Acanthacea*, a herb growing plentifully on the western shores of the False-Bay, having a very fine scent like woodruff. It is used as love-charm emetic.
- 1429. u(lu)Khokho (general), the name of the uMathunga plant, Eucomis undulata, etc., used as emetic and enema.
- 1430. um Khokhokho, the same as 1563.
- 1431. umKkhohothwane (2) NIN, a herb used as vegetable.
- 1432. umKhokhozo (1) according to Watt, Gymnosporia buxifolia Szysz, a common little tree of the bushveld.
- 1433. i(li)Khokhwane, (general) Alepidea longifolia and allied species (except Alepidea amatymbica=i(li)Khathazo) of the Carrot-Family, eaten as vegetable.
- 1434. umKholikholi, a tree of Swaziland, (W & S 2).
- 1435. isiKholokotho, (general), Sanseviera tyrsiflora, a xerphytic herb with big rhizoms, growing on shady places of the bushveld. The thick juicy leaves are burned in fire and the warm juice coming off

- stilled in the ears, if they suffer from ear-ache. The fibrous bulb is used for making the isi Qova and isi Phunga.
- 1436. isiKhomakhoma (general), the common tree-fern, Cyathea dregei, a frequent plant on the margins of the mist-belt-forests, especially the high-lands.
- 1437. isiKhombe (general), a thorn-shrub of the mist-belt area, which shows great resistance against fire, shooting out very easily again. It is either a variety of Acacia natalitia—Acacia karro or a new species not yet described. Another name is u(lu)Gagu and u(lu)Sagu.
- 1438. umKhombe (1), according to Bryant, a vegetable.
- 1439. umKhomizo (2 S & X), Protorhus longifolia Engl., in proper Zulu isiFico sehlathi, a tree of the forests.
- 1440. isiKhond(w)e (general, Coast and South). Certain plants of the Ascepias-family with edible roots, like Ascepias multicaulis, etc.
- 1441. isiKhondle (1 W & S), the same probably as 1440.
- 1442. umKhondo (general), imiKhondo, certain plants, (locally different) which pregnant women use for tying round the ankle, when journeying, as a prophylactic against the umKhondo disease of newborn babies: e.g. Zornia tetraphylla E. Mey., var. capensis Harv. Mogg 6151, Cluytia pulchella, etc., etc.
- 1443. umKhonjwane (2) prob. Zornia bracteolata, a little prostrate herb of the Pea and Bean-family.
- 1444. isiKhonko (general), certain grasses like Digitaria eriantha, Ischaemum fasciculatum Brogn., etc. used for plaiting ropes.
- 1445. *i(li)Khonkwane* (general), a wild vegetable, *Alepidea longifolia* etc. cf. *i(li)Khokhwane*.
- 1446. isiKhonkwane (1 NUF, Ntambanana), a grass.
- 1447. umKhonola (1) according to Burtt Davy, (N & T), Terminalia sericea Burch., a tree of the bushveld.
- 1448. uKhonyeni (1) according to Mogg, a scent-plant.
- 1449. umKhonzo (2) NKA, NIN, prob. Hypericum spec.
- 1450. isiKhophe, the same as isiKhobe, a certain plant for treating isiKhobe-sickness, diarrhoea of infants.
- 1451. umKhosikazi (3 NMA, NO), Vitex Rehmannii, a tree of the bushveld with digitate five-foliate leaves.
- 1452. isiKhotha, any high grass.

- 1453. isiKhothokqtho, the same as isiKholokotho, Sanseviera thyrsiflora; the succulent leaves of this Lily are used against ear-ache.
- 1454. u(lu)Khova (general), Musa paradisiaca var. sapientium, the plantain. This starchy variety of bananas is an old staple food of the Bantu of Central Africa. An old plantation (isiKhova) of these indigenous (not from European imported) bananas is still in Native Reserve No. 10, Mtunzini district. It was there even in the time of Shaka, to whom quantities were regularly sent. The fruits of this royal plantation are once a year brought to the Magistrate of Mtunzini as inkosi.
- 1455. u(lu)Khovothi, umKhovothi, (general) Chaetacme aristata, a fine timber tree of the mistbelt-forests with nasty thorns. The leaves are entire or serrate on the same tree, puzzling people.
- 1456. i(li)Khowe, (general), Schulzeria umkowaan Cke & Massee, the only mushroom eaten by the Zulus. A very fine dish for European table too! The mycelium, the real plant of this fungus grows in white ant heaps.
- 1457. i(li)Khowendlovu, the elephant-mushroom, big specimens of Schulzeria umkowaan with a pileus eighteen inches broad.
- 1458. isiKhubabende (general), all the small and dwarfy species of Indigofera like Indigofera velutina, micrantha, hilaris, eriocarpa, etc., having a woody carrot-shaped root. Said to be good against dysentery.
- 1459. *i(li)Khubalo*, (general), medicinal plant and root used to ward off diseases and evils and to cleanse people affected after the death of relations.
- 1460. i(li)Khubalo lezinkobe (1), according to Bryant a certain small veld-plant having a tiny violet flower on a long stalk.
- 1461. i(li)Khubalozimbe (1 S & X), a medicinal plant.
- 1462. i(li)Khubalwane (general), the herbalist's name for the commonly called isiQalaBa sehlathi, Rapanea melanophloeos, a tree of the forests, the bark of which is used for stomach-pains.
- 1463. ubuKhubele (3), probably the same as 1583, used against toothache, a herb with white flowerlets
- 1464. i(li)Khubuze (1 NES), a shrub good for sticks.
- 1465. umKhuhla (S & X), the same as umKhuhlu. but only Trichilia emetica.
- 1466. umKhuhlu, usually Trichilia emetica, the Natal-Mahagony-tree, a well known shade-tree of the streets in Durban.

But in certain places like in the Umhlatuze-valley this name is used for Strychnos dysophylla, a Monkey-Orange-Tree. The Thongas roast the pulp of the hard-shelled fruits together with the oil prepared from the seeds of Trichilia emetica and eat it. It tastes much better than the raw pulp even of the preferred Strichnos spinosa umHlala. Where the Strychnos dysophylla is called umKhuhlu, the Trichilia emetica is called unChinsini.

- 1467. umKhuhlumanyenye (general NUB), probably Trichilia (?) spec., flowers and fruits not yet secured. A huge tree of the northern swamp-forests.
- 1468. isiKhuhlumumbu (1), according to Sim, a tree in Maputaland,
 Bersama mossambicensis Sim.
- 1469. umKhuhlwa, the same as umKhuhlu, Trichilia emetica.
- 1470. isiKhukhu, an outgrowth of Acacia pallens, which suffers from big galls.
- 1471. i(li)Khukhu or isiKhukhu, the same as isiKhukhuboya.
- 1472. i(li)Khukhuboya (NES), a rough-leafed grass of dampy places.
- 1473. isiKhukhuboya, Ficus sycomorus, a wild fig-tree with hairy fruits.
- 1474. isiKhukhukhu, Fleurya capensis, the river-nettle used as vegetable.
- 1475. i(li)Khukhumba (general), the Cucumber, Cucumis sativus.
- 1476. iKhukhuze (general), certain kinds of Cassine especially Cassine Kraussianum Sim, also Cassine papillosa (NKA) and capensis. Usually very good sticks.
- 1477. u(lu)Khula (no plural), weed, weeds of any kind. A weed is any plant on the wrong place.
- 1478. umKhulanda (1), according to Mogg, Rhamphicarpa tubulosa.
- 1479. umKhulane (1 NIN), a grass.
- 1480. i(li) Khumalo (general, Natal), Cassinopsis capensis, a very thorny tree, the seeds of which are worn as ornaments.
- 1481. umKhumbukhwekhwe (NES) Sesbania aegyptiaca, a shrub or little tree growing on riverbanks.
- 1482. isiKhumukela, the same as isiKhumukele.
- 1483. isiKhumukele (general), Acima tetracantha, a very thorny shrub of the bushveld. Name to be derived from ukukhumula izinyo. The juice of this plant is a substitute for Iodine and Alum among the Natives. The juice is stilled in the wound, if the tooth is taken out. Used against toothache as well. Substitutes of Acima

- are sometimes Equisetum ramosissimum, the horse-tail-fern, and Solanum capense and Solanum aculeastrum as Acima tetracantha is only growing in hot bushveld. Acima has an awfully astringent taste.
- 1484. umKhumukhweqe, Sesbania aegyptiaca (cf. 1481). The leaves can be used like a soap and give a little bit of foam in washing the hands.
- 1485. umKhuna (W & S), a wild vegetable.
- 1486. umKhuna (2 NIN, NY), a creeper on the ground, the green fruits of which are eaten.
- 1487. isiKhuncumayovu (1) according to Maria Zulu, a house-medicine.
- 1488. ubuKhunku (general W & S, N & T), Androstachys Johnsonii Prain, a hard-wooded timber-tree of the very dry bushveld of the northern Ubombo range.
- 1489. ukuKhunta (general), moulds of bread etc., a fungus, e.g. isinkwa sesikhuntile, the bread got mouldy.
- 1490. umKhuntela, dry-rot, harmful to cattle.
- 1491. *i(li)Khununu*, some foxtail-grasses like *Setaria aurea*, *etc.*, the seeds of which are edible and eaten by herd-boys and in famine-time.
- 1492. umKhunye (1) according to Bews, Milletia Sutherlandi Harv., a huge tree of the Midland-forests.
- 1493. isiKhupashe, the same as 1497.
- 1494. isiKhupha (1), according to Mogg, Rhabdostigma Schlechteri K.S., a shrub very similar to Tricalysia floribunda, commonly called isiKhupashane.
- 1495. isiKhuphakoshane, the same as 1497.
- 1496. isiKhuphankobe (general), the same as 1497.
- 1497. isiKhuphashane (general), Tricalysia floribunda Harv. a shrub of the Coffee-family. The pitchblack berries are eaten. They are very tasty and sweet.
- 1498. isiKhuphasholo, the same as 1497.
- 1499. isiKhuphathi, the same as 1497.
- 1500. umKhuphulangwe (1), a herb used for enema in feverish condition.

 A Composite with purplish flowers.
- 1501. isiKhutha (general), a fungus called mildew.

- 1502. umKhuwa (1 NPN), Ficus capensis, the common Fig-tree on the rivers.
- 1503. umKhuwu, the same as 1502.
- 1504. umKhuwuboya, Ficus sycomorus, the brother of the former one with hairy fruits.
- 1505. umKhuze, the same as 1507 (NPN).
- 1506. i(li)Khuzi, the same as 1507.
- 1507. inKuzwa (general), Heteropyxis natalensis, a tree of the bushveld and Highveld with very aromatic leaves and flowers (amaKha).

 Used for medicinal tea. The timber is good for fence posts, and charcoal.
- 1508. umKhuzwa, the same as 1507.
- 1509. isiKhwa (general), a wild garlic, Tulbaghia alliacea, with nice orange flowers (inCisili), used as wild vegetable and love charm medicine.
- 1510. uKhwabinhlobo, (1 ND herbalist), a tree the root of which is used as a medicine.
- 1511. i(li)Khwaciba (1 S & X), Watsonia spec., a lily with beautiful crimson flowers.
- 1512. isiKhwali (general), certain wild beans with edible tubers, e.g. Vigna vexillata, triloba, glabra. Also some other papilionaceous climbers used only as emetic in feverish conditions and love-charm.
- 1513. isiKhwali sasolwandle (2), the same as i(li)Hlamvu lasolwandle, the Gloriosa Lily, Gloriosa virescens.
- 1514. i(li)Khwambine (1 S & X), according to Binder, Gladiolus spec.
- 1515. umKhwana (1) according to Bews, Tricholaena rosea Nees, the Natal Red-top grass.
- 1516. i(li)Khwane (general), certain kinds of big sedge, which has no serrate margin like in Sikane: e.g. Cyperus fastigiatus, etc. They are used for making mats.
- 1517. umKhwane (1 S & X), according to Sim Ficus sycomorus L., one of our Fig-trees growing along the river or in mistbelt area.
- 1518. umKhwangi, the same as 1519.
- 1519. umKhwangu (general), Erythrophloeum guineense, a tree of the North, whose poisonous pungent bark is used as snuff for headache, as an umbulelo and anti-umbulelo and as a remedy for lung sickness in cattle.

- 1520. isiKhwantshalu (1 prob. W. & S) according to Weintroub, a plant with edible parts.
- 1521. i(i)Khwanyana (1 NKA), Aristea Eckloni, the root of which is used for enema. A lily plant with beautiful blue flowers.
- 1522. isiKhwashumbe (S & X), a kind of wild mustard.
- 1523. umKhwazi, a tree.
- 1524. isiKhwekhwe (2) according to Mogg, Eragrostis plana.
- 1525. isiKhwe, a mother-stem of grass.
- 1526. ubuKhwebeletane (NIN), the same as ubuKwebezane.
- 1527. ubuKhwebezane, (general), Latana salvifolia, a shrub bearing edible berries of mauve colour.
- 1528. isiKhwelamfene (general), Garcinia Gerardi, a tree of closed forests yielding good sticks.
- 1529. isiKhwelefingqane, the same as uMakhwelefingqane, (NUF), a Sapotacea of the bushveld very similar to Sideroxylon, which is often called with this name too.
- 1530. i(li)Khwendle (NIN), a plant.
- 1531. umKhwenkwe (S&X), usually called umFusamvu, Pittosporum viridiflorum Sims., a tree of the forests and Protea-veld.
- 1532. i(li)Khweza lehlathi, a shrub or tree (NHL), Peddiea spec.
- 1533. umKhwinti (2 S & X), probably Gazania pinnata var. integrifolia.
- 1534. isiKhwishi, Acacia davyi, a tree of the bushveld.
- 1535. isiKigi (NMA), a weed with bad smell used for curing calves, if they have diarrhoea.
- 1536. in Kiphadliso, inyanga's emetic plant for chest-trouble.
- 1537. in Kizane, the same as in Kazane, a vegetable.
- 1538. i(li)Klabe, the same as the next i(li)Klabeklabe.
- 1539. i(li)Klabeklabe, (general), wild lettuce of any kind like Lactuca capensis, Sonchus oleraceus, Sonchus integrifolius, Sonchus nanus, etc.
- 1540. i(li)Klabishi, the cabbage, Brassica oleracea.
- 1541. i(li)Klabuklabu (1) according to Weintroub, Sonchus oleraceus.
- 1542. i(li)Klalaklala, (1) according to Mogg 1671, the Mi haelmas Daisy, Aster filifolius.
- 1543. isiKlalu, (general), the wild peach, Kiggelaria africana, a forest tree.

- 1544. umKlamkleshe (general), any ground-orchid with spicate flowers. They distinguish well between the bitter non-edible ones and the edible ones. The edible ones are a kind of Salep, e.g. Habenaria foliosa, Satyrium longicauda, Satyrium macrophyllum, Satyrium sphaerocarpum, Habenaria caffra, etc. The non-edible ones are e.g. Disa chrysostachys, Disa polygonoides, etc.
- 1545. i(li)Klawu (S & X), the same as 1539 and certain kind of nettles, (cf. imBabazane).
- 1546. umKlele (general), Ehretia hottentotica Burch., a shrub or tree of the bushveld with beautiful little mauve flowerlets of the Forgetme-not family. The red berries are edible. There is another one, umKlele omkhulu, in the Ingwavuma District, Ehretia spec. probably E. amoena Klotch.
- One with more light and broad leaves is called isiKlenama esimhlophe, Urginea physodes, Gerstner 2294. It is flowering in September with four feet long spicate flowers and whitish flowerlets. It is used against itch of men and goats. The other one isiKlenama esibomvu (because the inside of the bulb is red) remains a doubtful species near Urginea echinostachya Baker. The leaves are more grasslike. The flowerlets are yellowish-brownish and much smaller, as of the former one. The third one is Urginea burkei, with white flowerlets and the bulb inside red. These bulbs of the form and size of a big radish are always growing above the surface and very scaly.
- 1548. uKlenya (NKA), the same as uGobo, Gunnera perpensa L., a rhubarb-like big herb, growing in swamps and used to expel placenta in man and beast.
- 1549. umKlephuklephu (1), according to Bews, a grass, Eragrostis curvula Nees.
- 1550. umKleya (1), supposed to be the same tree as isiThubi (NHL).
- 1551. isiKleyane (1), Randia rudis.
- 1552. umKlindi (1), Rhamnus prinoides L'Herit., a tree with green branches growing along the margins of the forests.
- 1553. i(li)Klobobo (3), according to Mogg, Pelargonium spec. (Mogg 3185), the leaves of which are eaten by Natives.
- 1554. i(li)Klogwe (1), probably a wild lettuce.
- 1555. i(li)Klolo (general), the same as i(li)Lalenyathi, Grewia occidentalis, a tree of forest and bushveld. The sweet berries are very

- nice and edible. The bark is used medicinally, and the timber for assegai-handles.
- 1556. *i(li)Klu60*, the same as *i(li)Hu60*, Senecio erubescens, used as scent-plant, amaKha.
- 1557. i(li)Klubu (1), according to Mogg, the same as i(li)Hubo, etc. cf 1556.
- 1558. uKlubugwegwe (W & S) Sesbania aegyptiaca Poir, etc., a little tree or shrub growing along riverbanks. It's leaves are used as a substitute for soap.
- 1559. umKlungulo (2), according to Mogg, Oldenlandia amatymbica.
 Mogg 5536.
- 1560. isiKlweyane (1 NZ), a herb near the sea.
- 1561. inKobe (1 W & S), Rhoicissus rhomboidea, a wild vine.
- 1562. inKofe, the same as inKomfe, different kinds of the genus Hypoxis, which are used to plait cords like H. sericea, rooperi, etc.
- 1563. inKokhokho (general), Ficus Sonderi and Ficus ingens, the rock-splitting fig-trees. Also Pygeum africanum, the wild almond tree.
- 1564. uKolo, from "Koring" the Wheat, Triticum sativum.
- 1565. uKolotshane (NS & W & S), Ximenia americana, the sister-plant of Ximenia caffra, umThunduluka, but having paler fruits, which are also edible. It grows as a shrub, seldom as a tree, in the northern bushveld, right up to Abyssinia and in tropical America.
- 1566. in Kolwane (1 S & X), according to Watt Oxalis Smithii and perhaps others, Smith's Sorrel.
- 1567. uKolweni (general), from Koring the Wheat, Triticum sativum.
- 1568. inKomankoma (general), young plants of the former one or smaller species of fern looking alike.
- 1569. inKomankomane (general), a wood fern, Dryopteris athamantica Ktze, used by Natives and Europeans as very efficient vermifuge.

 A too great dose of the root may be fatal. Very good against tape worm, dose three drams.
- 1570. inKomba (1), Jubaeopsis caffra, a strange American palm found near the Southern Natal border, Bizana, etc., since ancient times.
- 1571. inKombo (2), according to Bryant a vegetable. Perhaps Cyanotis nodiflora Kth.
- 1572. inKomfe (general), all kinds of Hypoxis, like Hypoxis sericea, multiceps, rooperi, coriacea, rigidula, obtusa, obliqua, etc., yielding

- good fibre for making ropes. A substitute is Watsonia densiflora, and Sunseviera sulcata, along the Pongola right up to East Africa.
- 1573. inKominophondo (1) according to Bryant, a medicinal plant, the roots of which are pounded and snuffed against umKhuhlane.
- 1574. inKonazana (general), Alysicarpus violaceus (Forsk) Schindl., a prostrate herb of the Pea and Bean family, used as emetic for chest complaints.
- 1575. inKondlokazane, the same as 1576.
- 1576. inKondlwane (general), the Tinder-Plant. The real one is Helichrysum auronitens Sch., Bip, an Everlasting, with whitish grey tomentose leaves. Substitutes are other Helichrysums and Gnaphaliums like Gnaphalium luteo-album.
- 1577. inKonekazi (2), probably the same as 1574.
- 1578. inKongoluthi (1), according to Sim, a little tree of the Ubombo Range, Cassine sphaerophyllum Presl.
- 1579. inKonk(o)wane, the same as inKwankwane, any non-edible mushroom.
- 1580. *inKowane*, diminutive of *i(li)Khowe*, but also used for any small non-edible mushroom.
- 1581. inKowankowane, any kind of non-edible mushroom.
- 1582. inKubalwana, (1 NKA), Rapanea melanophloeos, usually called isiQalaba sehlathi, a common forest tree.
- 1583. in Kubele (3 S & X), according to Watt, Pelargonium alchemilloides.
- 1584. inKucula (2 NS), Talinum caffrum, a low succulent herb with yellow flowers, the root of which is used as for making enema.
- 1585. inKuku (1), certain plant, whose root is, according to Bryant, used as an emetic.
- 1586. *inKulathi* (2), probably the same as *iNkulathi*, the Guernsey-Lily, *Nerine* spec., etc.
- 1587. umKumboya, Ficus sycomorus, a wild figtree, similar to umKhiwane, but with hairy fruits and entire leaves.
- 1588. umKunde (1), according to Weintroub, a wild edible bean.
- 1589. inKunkwini (3 NKA), Plectranthus spec. near tomentosus, an emetic.
- 1590. inKunkwa (3 NES & NKA), Smilax kraussiana Meisn., usually called inGqaqabulani, "the skunk-killer."

- 1591. inKunzibomvu (W & S), Capparis tormentosa, a thorny shrub, straggling in the bushveld.
- 1592. inKunzane (general), "The strong enema," several kinds of plants, which work as very strong enemas, e.g. Euclea natalensis (usually called i(li)Zizimane or inKunzi emnyama), Euclea undulata (usually called umShekisane), Turraea obtusifolia (usually called umHlatholana), Emex spinosa and anthropodium, etc., etc.
- 1593. inKunzi, mostly the same as inKunzane.
- 1594. inKunzi e6omvana, the same as umHlatholana, Turraea obtusifolia, a shrub with beautiful white flowers.
- 1595. inKunzi emnyama (general), Euclea natalensis, a tree of the bush-veld, "the strong black enema," a rather dangerous medicir.e.
- 1596. inKunzimbili (1), Asparagus medioloides, according to Mogg 6543, a small creeper with little lily-flowers.
- 1597. in Kunzi yembila (1 S & X), a medicinal plant.
- 1598. inKupahlane (S & X), a plant, probably the same as 1497.
- 1599. inKuphenkuphe (general), Sterculia Rogersii N. E. Br., a tree of the North. Bark used as fibre. It is famous as host of the cotton-pest.
- 1600. inKupuhlana (3), prob. Osteospermum nervatum, a herb used as an emetic.
- 1601. in Kuphuyana (4), the same as 1600.
- 1602. isiKutwane, a variety of pumpkin having a mottled green and white rind and very much liked. Probably also a tree.
- 1603. inKuzana (2), according to Bryant and Watt Emex spinosa, etc., or more or less the same as 1592.
- 1604. inKwa (1), according to Bryant, Dioscorea rupicola, a creeper of the bushveld, the boiled tubers of which are eaten in famine-time.
- 1605. umKwakwa (general), Strychnos dysophylla Bth., the monkey orange, with tomentose leaves in spring-time, no thorns and fruits turning orange-coloured. The Tongas roast the pulp with the fat made from Trichilia (umKhuhlu) seeds and eat it. Also Strychnos pungens Solered. (1).
- 1606. umKwakwane omkhulu (general), Gardenia Jovis tonantis, a shrub or little tree of the bushveld with very crooked branching and big egg-shaped fruits of silvery colour. Used as emetic against malaria, the next sister-plant of the Quinine-tree in our flora of Zululand.

- 1607. umKwakwane omncane (isiKwakwane), (general) Randia rudis, a shrub of the bushveld, used as emetic.
- 1608. inKwalibomvana (1), according to Bryant, a certain veld-plant. bearing black, edible berries.
- 1609. inKwankwane, (general), all not edible mushrooms, besides the iKowe, which is believed by the Zulus to be the only edible one. Also Agaricus campestris, the button mushroom, which is edible, but not known by the Natives. It followed probably the horse.
- 1610. in Kwankwane yamatshe, certain Lichenes growing on stones like Parmelia.
- 1611. uKwatapheya, (oKwatapeya pl.), the Avocado pears, Persea gratissima.
- 1612. umKweneti (1 NUB), Helichrysum fulgens, a yellow flowering Everlasting.
- 1613. inKweza (general), Lachnopylis dentata R. Br., a shrub growing along rivers in the bushveld like a willow. Its leaves were used by the Zulu-kings for rubbing off dirt from the back when bathing; now used as Love-charm. The verification of Bryant = Kraussia floribunda was incorrect. But Kraussia floribunda (= isiKhuphashane) looks very much like inKweza.
- 1614. inKwezi, the same as inKweza.
- 1615. inKwindi, large bean of Entada gigas, a climber of the Coast forests.
- 1616. uKwipili, the Quince, Cydonia vulgaris.

BOOK REVIEWS

The Races of Africa, by C. G. Seligman, Home University Library.

The first edition of Seligman's Races of Africa, published in 1930, rapidly became a classic. To produce an outline of the ethnic history of Africa and an indication of the chief racial and cultural features of its most important tribes within the compass of so small a volume was a considerable achievement and in spite of new increases in our knowledge of African Ethnography the book remains the standard introduction to the subject for beginners. It is good news, therefore, that a new edition has been called for. The present volume contains little new material, but the bibliography is brought up-to-date and certain small slips corrected.

A.I.R.

Le Bulletin des Missions, Vol. XVIII, No. 1, is devoted to a description of the work of the Roman Catholic Missions in Basutoland. The compilation will be of interest to readers of Bantu Studies since besides giving some idea of the present position of Roman Catholicism in the Protectorate it contains a brief account of the history of the Basuto nation and the present economic problems of the people, whether on the Rand or in their own country. Some Native customs are discussed, and there is a particularly clear account of the cattle exchanges at marriage among the Basuto, illustrated with an ingenious diagram.

The volume concludes with a comprehensive discussion of the whole issue of incorporation, and has a useful summary of South African colour bar legislation. A full bibliography on the history and present day problems of Basutoland is added.

A.I.R.

Standard English-Swahili Dictionary, 635 pp. double col. 1939. 8/6d. net.

Standard Swahili English Dictionary, 548 pp. double col. 1939 8/6d. net. Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press.

These two splendid books were prepared by the Inter-Territorial Language Committee for the East African Dependencies under the direction of the late Frederick Johnson, formerly Secretary of the Committee. Both these publications are founded on A. C. Madan's

Dictionaries which for many years have been the English standard works on the language. The entries however have been considerably expanded and the meanings re-arranged making them much more serviceable and easy of reference; derivative verbs, too, have been much more fully treated. A large number of helpers have contributed to the considerable increase in the number of entries in the dictionaries. A pleasing feature, in the Swahili-English dictionary, is the inclusion of Arabic and Persian originals when explaining works derived from those sources. This was done regularly in Krapf's learned dictionary which was published in 1882.

The field covered by these two works is wider than that covered by Madan's books (1894 & 1903) which applied more particularly to the Zanzibar dialect, and they employ the Standard Swahili orthography. It is a pity that attention has not been paid (in the Swahili-English volume) to the incidence of aspiration, and to certain other phonological phenomena such as the differentiation of implosive and explosive b. This should surely have had a place in such a dictionary.

The English-Swahili volume is planned to be of especial value to Swahili students of English and will prove to be a mine of information to such.

This publication is most welcome.

C.M.D.

The Diary of Dr. Andrew Smith: Edited with introduction, footnotes, map and indexes by Percival R. Kirby. Vol. I. The van Riebeeck Society, Cape Town, 1939, pp. 413, and 32 plates.

Professor Kirby has done a good service in tracing the manuscripts of Andrew Smith's diary, the first volume of which is before us. In his introduction he gives an interesting account of the locating of the manuscripts along with certain other material in thirteen volumes of Smith's handwriting in the strong room of the South African Museum, Cape Town. He includes in the introduction a concise memoir of Sir Andrew Smith written by his nephew Alexander Michie in 1876, and certain material concerning the Cape of Good Hope Association for Exploring Central Africa, and the preparations for and departure of the Expedition under Smith in 1834. This introduction (of 48 pages) contains both valuable and interesting material.

The diary itself has been dealt with in a sympathetic and scientific manner. Smith's text is scrupulously followed and footnotes are

appended to elucidate references to places and persons throughout. Smith's own style is at times involved, often entailing poor or faulty constructions. Some passages are really difficult to follow and understand. We feel that in a few of these cases the Editor might have used a little liberty in alteration. One feels sure in places Smith himself would have recast passages before letting them go to press. This first volume contains only part of the diary and the Editor refers constantly to a map which is to appear in the second volume. It will make reading much more pleasant when the two volumes are before one.

The diary is a very important addition to South African Archives. We get a most vivid picture of the semi-lawless conditions on the Northern Cape Border a hundred years ago. In a most realistic manner are portrayed the frictions and contacts of Bushmen, Coranas, Bastards and emigrant Boers in the vicinity of Philippolis. The account of the visit to Moshesh and the personal touches in that are of immense value. But perhaps the most interesting part is that which was written by Smith while the Expedition was at or near Kuruman. Much valuable material gleaned from Robert Moffat is included; and the Editor has added something from Moffat's side showing what a God-send to the missionaries Smith's visit to them proved to be (see page 46).

The references to and the realistic description of Lake Ngami as early as 1835 are of extreme interest. The work is enhanced by numerous reproductions of drawings by Charles Bell who accompanied the Expedition.

The Van Riebeeck Society is to be congratulated on this publication and we look forward to the appearance of the second volume.

C.M.D.

A Grammar of Xhosa for the Xhosa-speaking, by W. G. Bennie, B.A. Lovedale Press, 1939. viii + 169 pp. 3s.

This book aims at supplying a long-felt want—a presentation of the facts of Xhosa grammar in a form specially adapted to the needs and knowledge of the Xhosa-speaking. The extant grammars of Xhosa, meritorious as they are, have not been written from this point of view; nor do they represent more modern trends of thought concerning the nature of Bantu grammar generally, and Xhosa grammar in particular. Mr. Bennie has combined the results of his long and wide experience as teacher, inspector and examiner among the Xhosa-speaking peoples, with his mastery of and feeling for their language, to produce a work

which, presenting Xhosa grammar in a way he feels they will understand, should help greatly to give them that interest in and respect for the mechanism of their speech which has hitherto been little enough in evidence.

After a brief introductory chapter stating concisely the position of the Bantu language-family in Africa, and the main morphological characteristics of this family (I), we are given chapters on Xhosa phonetics and phonology (II-III). Then come chapters on the grammar proper: Words and formative particles (IV); the Noun, its prefixes, concords, classes and forms (V-VIII); the Pronoun (IX); the Demonstrative (X); the Relative (XI); the Adjective (XII); the Numerals (XIII); the Verb, including its conjugation, derivative forms and auxiliaries, and treating also of non-verbal predicates (XIV-XVIII); the Adverb and the Conjunction (XIX); the Ideophone and the Interjection (XX); and the Formation of Words (XXI). A chapter on syntax and style (XXII), and a brief index, complete the book.

Although the author disclaims for his work the authoritativeness and the exhaustiveness of the formal scientific textbook, we have here in actual fact a more reliable and fuller account of Xhosa morphology than any hitherto published, stocked with a variety of sound idiomatic examples, and displaying throughout the careful and critical use Mr. Bennie has made of the extant literature in and about the language, of oral authorities, and of his own very great knowledge of Xhosa.

The author has in his preface anticipated one main criticism which might be levelled against his work, namely that it has not been written in Xhosa. He tells us that English has been chosen as the medium that will establish the most ready and accurate contact between writer and reader, since Xhosa is not as yet a suitable medium for a clear and brief presentation of the facts of language-structure. He thinks that a development of Xhosa for such a purpose is ultimately possible, but must proceed from below upwards, e.g. by Africans writing simple books in Xhosa on Xhosa grammar and composition; but by inference he also suggests that in his opinion the time for this is not yet, and that only an African should attempt to do so. We think it is a pity that he has taken up this attitude. Admittedly the difficulties of writing a formal textbook of Xhosa grammar are very great, and Xhosa, like other Bantu languages, will have to develop a great deal before it becomes a fit medium for scientific works on linguistics. Admittedly, too, it is to Africans that we shall have to look eventually to hammer out terminologies for this type of writing that will at once reflect the spirit of European scientific work and at the same time take root in the linguistic consciousness of the Xhosa-speaking peoples. But modest beginnings in this direction have already been made in the case of some other South African Bantu languages, by Europeans with an intimate knowledge of these languages, aided by suitably-qualified Africans; and the present reviewer feels that a similar attempt might have been made at this stage for Xhosa as well. The attempts hitherto made in the case of these other languages have not all had the same measure of success: the terminologies of e.g. Thlalosa-Polêlô in Northern Sotho, Phenda-Luambo in Venda, and Vuvulavuri bya Šitonga in Shangana-Tonga may be subject to revision and change, and even partial abandonment, as time proceeds: but there will remain of these works a solid residue of achievement. They will have served, as they are serving now, as examples of the resources of these languages in expressing linguistic facts, and in conveving these facts to the people speaking such languages in a way which must surely be more intelligible to the majority of these folk than even the simplest of English. We feel certain that Mr. Bennie, with his intimate and imaginative knowledge of Xhosa, and with the aid of one or two of his able informants, could have done the same for that language, and regret that the attempt was not made.

Mr. Bennie has departed to a considerable extent from the grammatical point of view of the older works on Xhosa, and has in many respects followed the lines of Prof. Doke's Text-Book of Zulu Grammar. It is a pity that Mr. Bennie did not see his way clear to follow the latter even more closely, since Xhosa and Zulu are so similar in structure, and since Prof. Doke's categories and nomenclature in the case of Zulu have proved to be generally applicable to all the South African Bantu languages, and particularly so, of course, to the sister Xhosa. Thus Mr. Bennie treats of locative adverbs formed from nouns in one of the chapters devoted to the noun, and not under that dealing with adverbs; demonstratives are classed separately, and not brought under the pronouns; the identity of the so-called "adjectives of the second class" with the relatives is lost sight of; the fundamental difference between the positive and the negative conjugation of the verb is not stressed, while the much smaller difference between the active and the passive "voice" is insisted upon; the participial mood is called a participle, and described as a qualificative; and in a further number of less outstanding cases different categories are adopted and different terminologies used, the wisdom of which may well be questioned. In quite a number of cases, however, Mr. Bennie's terms are happier ones than those now in use, e.g. Proximate, Mediate and Remote for the three distances of the demonstrative, and will no doubt in time obtain that general use which they deserve.

Printing, paper and binding are a credit to the Lovedale Press. The proof-reading has been particularly painstaking. The modest price of the volume should put it within the reach of all likely to profit by it. Its many good qualities will, we have no doubt, soon ensure for it a wide distribution.

G. P. LESTRADE.

Izincwadi ZesiZulu Zabafundi: Eyendima Yesibili (The Stewart Zulu Readers: Standard II). Edited by W. G. Bennie, in collaboration with B. W. Vilakazi. Lovedale Press, 1939. 117 pp. 1s. 3d.

This is the second in a series of Zulu school readers planned by the Lovedale Press as a parallel to their Stewart Xhosa Readers, and follows lines similar to those of the corresponding volume in the latter series. As usual in such books, stories and poems about animals form a considerable proportion of the contents; but there are of course also stories about people, old and young, the main purpose of which is of an ethical nature. Some of the jingles, such as the one about the sound of q, are very fetching, and sure to appeal to small folk. Perhaps original Zulu tales could have occupied a larger place in the book than they do. The language is good idiomatic Zulu.

The paper and printing are good: but for a book likely to receive the handling a school reader does, a stouter cover, even if this had meant an increase of a few pence in the price, would have seemed advisable.

G.P.L.

